



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

UC-NRLF



\$B 283 327

4912.
University of California.

FROM THE LIBRARY OF

DR. FRANCIS LIEBER,

Professor of History and Law in Columbia College, New York.

THE GIFT OF

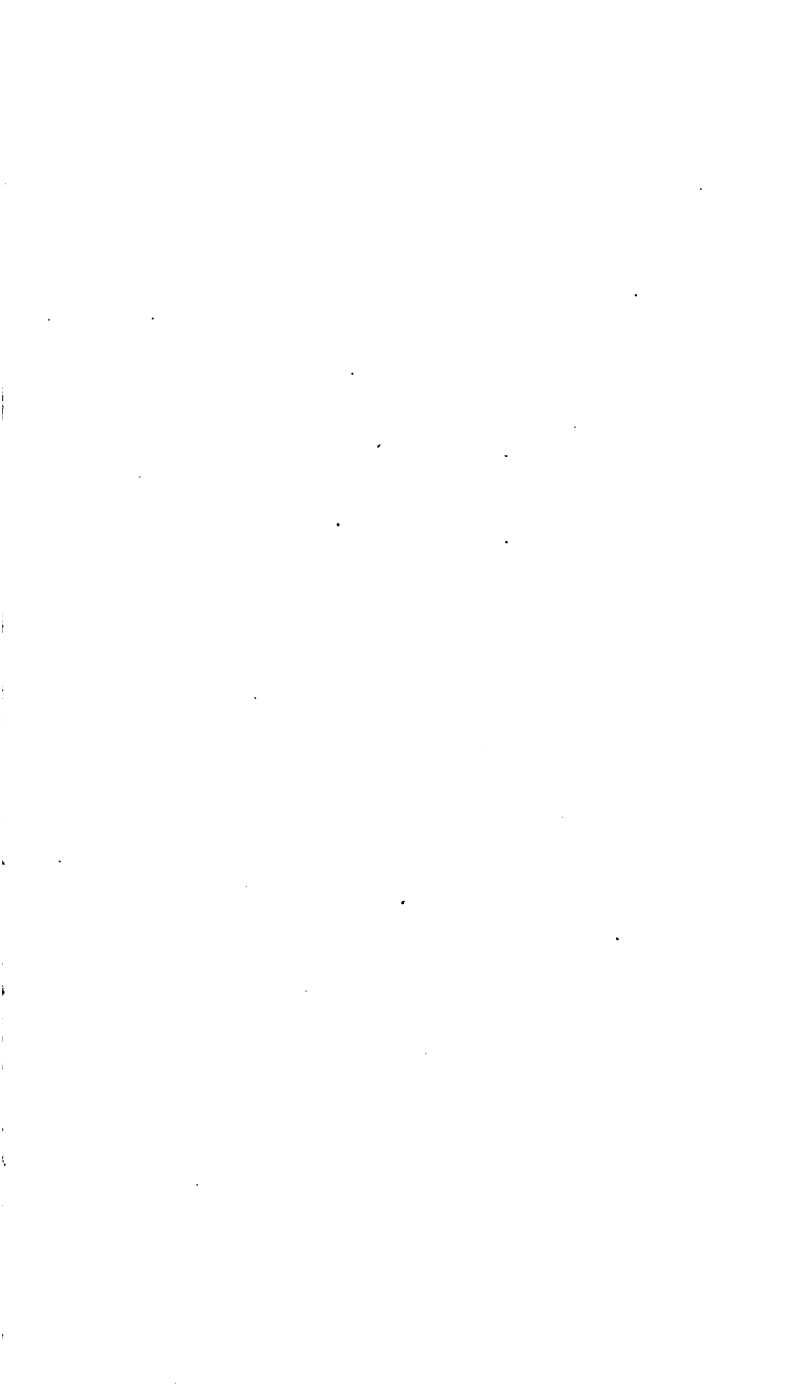
MICHAEL REESE,

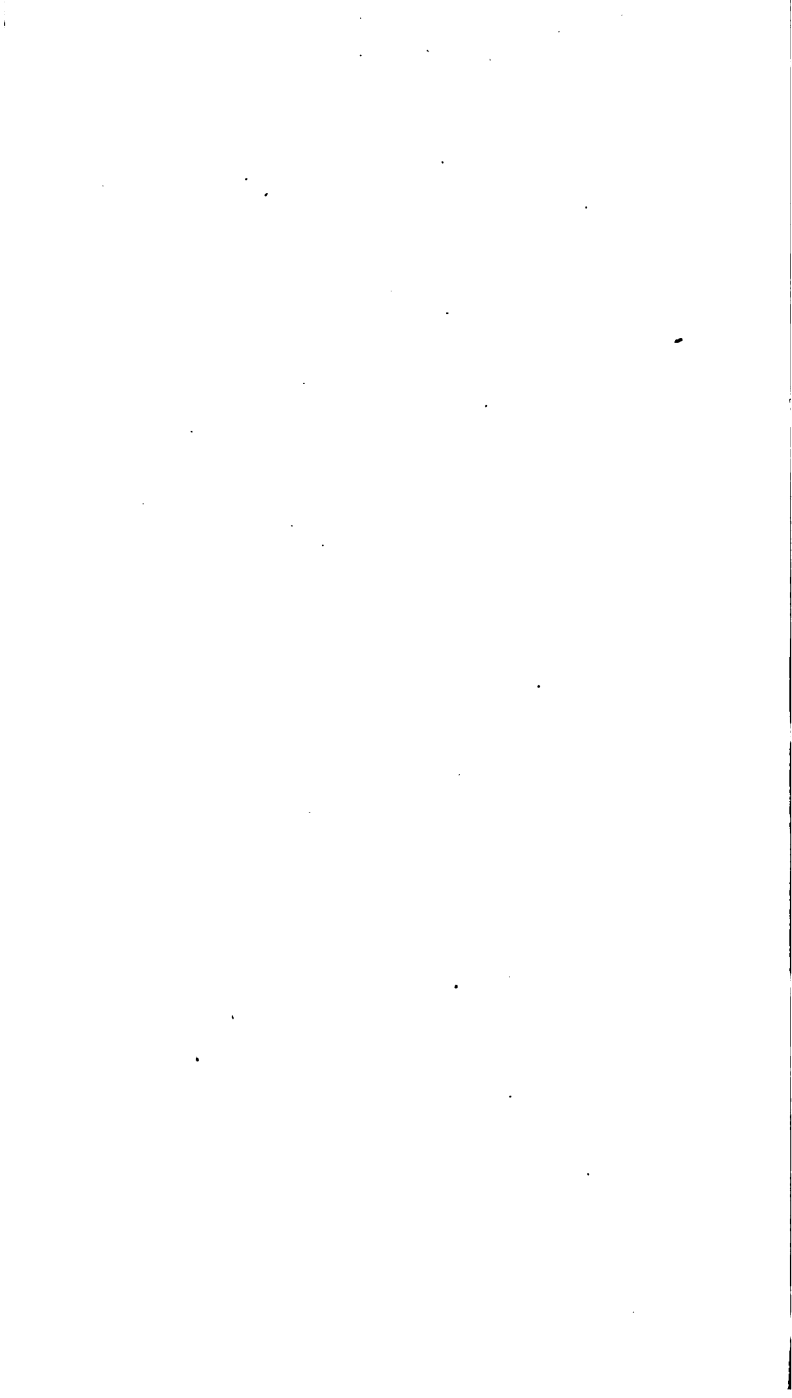
Of San Francisco.

1873.

Francis Lieber.







POLITICAL SKETCHES:

TWELVE CHAPTERS

ON THE

STRUGGLES OF THE AGE.

BY

CARL RETSLAG,

Dr. Phil. of Berlin, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Rostock.

“SED DUX ATQUE IMPERATOR VITAE MORTALIUM ANIMUS EST.”—
Sallust.

LONDON:

ROBERT THEOBALD, 26, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1854.

1000
RA

PREFACE.

THE present Chapters owe their origin to a Lecture which I gave in the spring of this year, on the present European Crisis.

I should, perhaps, apologize to the English public for having ventured to write in a language, my knowledge of which dates but from April, 1852, when the political events of my own country drove me to England. The quiet life of a small English town gave me, after some stormy years, the opportunity of reviewing the events of that troubled time, and of comparing the political condition of the Continent, and especially of my own country, with that of England. My principles have remained unchanged after this review, my opinion as to the means of realizing those principles is partly altered and corrected.

That I have paid special attention to Germany has not been caused merely by my being a German, but by

the conviction that the fate of Germany will decide the fate of Europe, a conviction which becomes daily more general.

Many important questions are but touched upon, and the historical dates are scanty; but I was obliged to restrict myself almost to the narrow limits of a pamphlet.

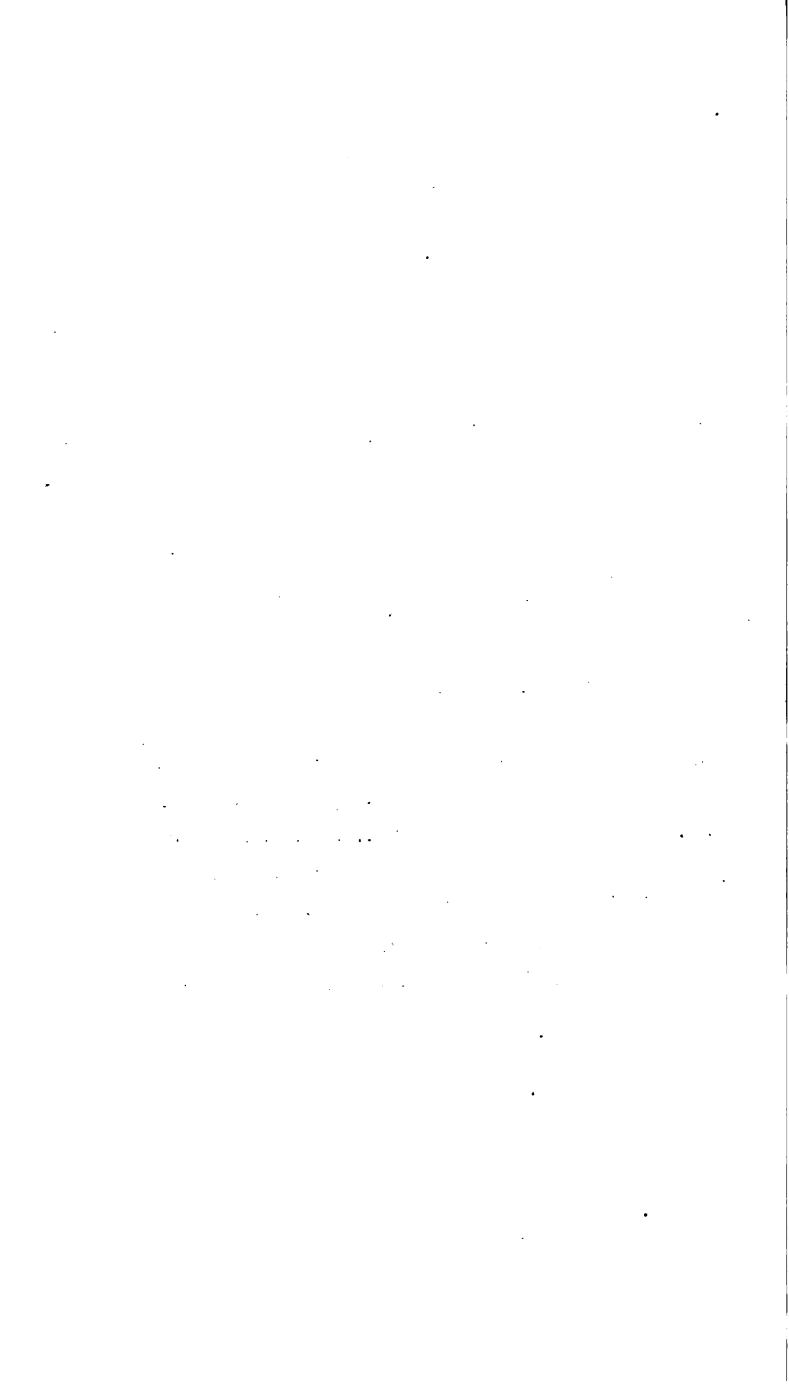
DR. CARL RETSLAG.

DONCASTER,

September 2, 1854.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. March of Civilization	1
II. Universal Empires, and Russia	10
III. Absolutism	26
IV. America	31
V. The French Revolution	37
VI. Democracy, Equality, and Communism	42
VII. A Chapter of Prussian History	64
VIII. The Sins of the Holy Alliance	69
IX. The Failure of the Revolutions of 1848.....	81
X. Russia, and the State of the Continent	98
XI. Diplomacy, and the Revision of the Map of Europe	122
XII. The War, and its Prospects	135



POLITICAL SKETCHES.

I. MARCH OF CIVILIZATION.

ERRATA.

- Page 4, line 20, *for* "Goëthe," *read* "Goethe."
Page 5, line 21, *for* "its," *read* "it."
Page 49, line 16, *for* "egoism," *read* "egotism."
Page 54, line 31, *for* "The history of," *read* "The history since."
Pages 62 and 63, *for* "egoism," *read* "egotism."
Page 63, first note, *for* "la Pæatrie," *read* "la Patrie."
Page 66, line 9, *for* "landerväterlichen," *read* "tandesväterlichen."
Page 76, in note, *for* "Landshaft," *read* "Landschaft."
Page 83, line 3, *for* "imperial," *read* "impartial."
Page 144, line 8, *for* "shrinks," *read* "thinks."
Page 149, line 19, *for* "sountry," *read* "century."
Page 154, last line, *for* "umanity," *read* "humanity."

~~and philosophy says in Goethe's Faust, when asked w~~
he is :

"Ich bin ein Theil der Kraft,
Die stets das Böse will
Und stets das Gute schafft."

The mythology of all nations has always seen in the life of this world the march of Divinity. In the splendid images of their fancy lies hidden a deep and earnest



POLITICAL SKETCHES.

I. MARCH OF CIVILIZATION.

THE history of man is a revelation of the Divine Spirit itself. He who sees in history nothing but the arbitrary deeds of man, must consider it as a "chronique scandaleuse," as a record of much crime, and still more folly and perverseness. The few sparkling virtues disappear like a drop in the dark ocean of egotism and passion: the truth appears drowned in the flood of error. But history is more than a mere history of man, is more than a dry record of facts. Facts and actions are only the incorporation—the incarnation of ideas. To study history is to divest the facts of their terrestrial dress, and to glance at the world of ideas; to get at the principles, which as eternal, unchangeable laws, have ruled all the past, rule all the present, and will rule all the future events of the world; to comprehend the spirit not only of the age, but of *the ages*; to behold at once the creation and the Creator.

Thus even the egotism and passion of man become in the hand of Providence the greatest promoters of good, the strongest levers in the history of the world, as Mephistopheles says in Goethe's Faust, when asked who he is;

"Ich bin ein Theil der Kraft,
Die stets das Böse will
Und stets das Gute schafft."

The mythology of all nations has always seen in the life of this world the march of Divinity. In the splendid images of their fancy lies hidden a deep and earnest

truth ; and the opinion of the modern European divine, or philosopher, does not differ, in this respect, so very much from the cosmology of the ancient Asiatic sages.

It would lead us too far to explain the relation in which God stands to the history of man. Whether we see in this history the revelation of the Divine Spirit itself, or whether we, in a less scientific way, consider God as the supreme Guide of human affairs, according to the popular saying, "Man proposes, God disposes," it is generally acknowledged, that human affairs are influenced if not conducted by a higher power than the mere mind and will of man. But if the Great Spirit of all perfection influences or conducts human affairs, it is easily to be understood, that the history of man is in constant progress to that perfection, at which every individual aims for himself, and at which mankind at large aims in a thousand often opposite ways. Whether this perfection can be reached here in this world, on this theatre of human affairs or not, can as little influence our opinion of their constant progress, as an individual of sound morality is influenced by the objection, that, because he can never reach here to perfection, he ought not here to aim after it at all.

We understand by perfection, not only the moral perfection of man, but the full development of all his capacities, of all those talents and powers of mind and body, which form an essential part of his nature—a nature, which is termed in the Scriptures, "an image of God," and which the philosophers consider as divine. If the innate genius of mankind is ever to reach the highest pitch of glory, if it shall conquer those thousand deficiencies and faults, which stain in the present condition of man, the splendour of his possible glory, then we shall have regained "the lost paradise," and our eye will not be dazzled with the light even of the Absolute.

Man has lived already some thousands of years, and yet how far is he off from that state of perfection ! Has he subjugated nature, has he shown himself entirely master

of all the wild forces of an unsubdued creation, of the ferocity of the elements, of space, of time? We may boast of our engines, of our electric telegraph; that space is reduced to a small scale by the power of steam, that time is conquered by the rapidity of the electric wire; but we must humble ourselves before a poor little sparrow, whose wings carry it wherever it will, whilst *we* are bound to the ground; or when trying to imitate this feeble little animal, are entirely at the mercy of the first wind, which carries us off, where our own inclination scarcely would have driven us. If we have, perhaps, hundreds of miles on the road to perfection behind us, millions of miles lie before us, a still untrodden path. Wherever we look into the moral, or into the political, or into the social, or into the scientific world, our pride will blush before the amount of crime, of injustice, of poverty, of ignorance. But however true it is, that mankind is far behind in fulfilling that which it ought to fulfil; in having realized that which it ought to have realized; that the present world is infinitely deficient compared with what it might be; that the glorious innate destiny of man is only in its infancy; that this splendid divine image, put into his heart, is still a mere caricature; it is equally true, *that mankind in general has been constantly progressing, is constantly progressing, and will be constantly progressing.* Nay, we may even say, that the moral, the social, and even the political condition of men in general has never been so near to perfection as to-day.

We know well what we say; we are well aware that there are many, who speak constantly about the "good old time," who deplore very much that this time is gone by. I know that others will point to the age of Pericles, or of Augustus, that they will ask us, whether we consider perhaps the ninth or tenth century after Christ superior to the century of Phidias, Praxiteles, Sophocles, Aristotle, or Plato? To the former, if Englishmen, we may put the question, what old good time they mean; whether they would prefer living under the reign of

Richard III., or Henry VIII., or even under that of the good Queen Bess, or under the enlightened rule of her gracious Majesty Queen Victoria? The latter we allow ourselves only to ask, whether they do not consider Christianity as an infinite progress beyond the spirit of any preceding age?

But let us look a little more closely at this important question. There can be no doubt, that art and science in the middle ages, and even in modern times, up to the seventeenth century, were in many branches far behind that glorious state, which the times of Pericles, of Alexander, of the Ptolemies witnessed. The Minnesingers, the Minstrels and Troubadours, a Gottfried of Strasburg, a Wolfram of Eschenbach are almost forgotten; but a Homer, a Pindar have lived already more than two thousands of years, and will live as long as there remains any spark of poetry in the breast of man. A Canova has not been able to surpass a Praxiteles, nor a Rauch, or a Thorwaldsen, a Phidias; and the best dramas of Shakspear, Goëthe, or Racine have to vie with Sophocles' Antigone. If all this is generally acknowledged, how can we maintain that mankind at large is constantly progressing? Does it not rather sometimes appear as if all the fruits of an enlightened age are at once destroyed by a hurricane, which sweeps over the earth in the shape of a savage conquering nation; and as if man falls back into a condition of which he would have been ashamed a thousand years ago? Is it not, as if the Divinity is jealous, lest man should approach too near its own perfect glory, and that it throws him back into the dust, just when he thinks he has now nearly reached the height of divine perfection?

Indeed, if we peruse the history of man, we arrive sometimes at periods, where it seems to the superficial reader, as if the progress of centuries is at once stopped. The fruits of the life of several ingenious nations are destroyed; the science, the art, the industry of an entire age, the civilization of centuries disappear; a savage tribe, without art, without science, descended

from unknown regions of the globe, enters the stage of history, and civilization has to commence again its struggles with a barbarous and unbended nature.

But if we do not allow ourselves to be discouraged by the distressing sight of outward appearances, but try to penetrate into the spirit of human affairs, into the real essence of man, we shall soon discover, that if many things have disappeared which were dear to us, there has been introduced a new idea, a new principle, which may be of greater value than that which has been destroyed; and perhaps that which we believe to be destroyed, is not destroyed altogether, but only for a certain time thrown aside; or that is only destroyed which was not worth preserving.

If we were to say, that all the different branches of civilization, all the sciences, and arts, and branches of industry have always been in a constant and uninterrupted course of progress, the first schoolboy could easily show that we are greatly mistaken; but we say, that so far from that, one or the other of these different branches has often for a long time been neglected, its has even fallen back to a condition of infancy, or has been altogether lost for several centuries; but the real spirit of humanity, the marrow of civilization, the essence of human existence, has never been lost for a single day, has never fallen back to a former condition, has never been stopped, but has marched through centuries and centuries in a constant, uninterrupted, untroubled course of progress till the present day, and will march in spite of all the Popes, Jesuits, and despots of the earth.

Neither can it be denied, that civilization has often left its birth-place; that it seems to wander about in the world, and more particularly, that coming from the paradisiacal fields of the east, it has marched from century to century towards the west, leaving in barbarity the place where it was born, or where it has had a long and glorious existence. Asia, the mother of civilization, which witnessed the first strenuous and successful attempts of science and art, has fallen back into a primitive

barbarity, scarcely do a few ruins of temples and monuments show to posterity the fickleness of her early civilization. What has become of Nineveh, what of Babel, what of Memphis, or Thebes with the hundred gates? Tyre and Sidon, and Asia Minor are now a world of ruins, inhabited by savage tribes; and even the crown of ancient life, the ingenious Greece, must she not blush if she looks at the petty kingdom of Otho?

The sun of civilization, we see, has restlessly marched over the earth, giving light, splendour, prosperity, where he is; leaving darkness, superstition, ruins, where he has been. *If we behold this at once so elevating and so abasing sight, if we behold those ruins of Asia and Africa, the witnesses of a by-gone glory, and a present degradation, shall we not be afraid of the "hodie mihi, cras tibi," shall we not shudder at the thought, that the fickle and faithless goddess of civilization may desert her present children, as she has deserted her first-born ones, may leave her adopted country, as she has left her birth-place, may continue still further her march towards the west?*

At no time has this fear been stronger than at the present. We feel that Europe has arrived at a turning-point, that history is about to enter a new period; and we ask anxiously, whether this period will not be a period like the destruction of the Roman empire, with all its civilization, by the barbarians of the north-east. As the civilized dominions of Rome were overrun by the wild tribes of the Germanic nation; will not in like manner these Germanic nations, and their sister-countries, now refined and reformed by an education of more than a thousand years, and by a religion of humanity and love, be overrun in their turn by other barbarians, coming from the same quarter of the globe? Is it the destiny of Europe to share the fate of Asia, and to fall back into the condition of that mother of human civilization? Is it the destiny of the Russians to play that part in the history of men, which the Teutonics played at the commencement of the middle ages? Will humanity and

civilization, flying before the Cossacks and the knout, altogether cross the Atlantic, and establish their sole dominion in America? Will not the flourishing commerce of England, the lofty science and art of Germany, the tasteful industry and the chivalry of France, be suffocated by the nightmare of Russian order?

All the signs of the age show the way towards the west. When, in the earlier part of antiquity, the Red Sea, when afterwards, in the middle ages, the Mediterranean, were the great basins of communication, on which the wealth, and the ideas of the then leading nations were carried to a mutual exchange; when after Columbus' discovery the Atlantic had taken the place of the Mediterranean; does it not seem as if now the Pacific will in its turn be for the coming period the great high-road of human activity? The rapid progress of the United States, California and her gold-rivers, Australia and her gold-mountains, a railroad in Panama, a revolution in China, an expedition to Japan; does not all this show, that the theatre of the coming age will be situated around the shores of that great ocean?

Indeed, if we look around us in the present world, to America, to Australia, even to Asia and Africa; if we see new nations being born, new nationalities arising, others long shut up entering the stage of history, the fear becomes very intelligible, that we too are old, that our part is played out, that we shall have to give up the leadership of civilization to other and younger hands. This fear will be still stronger, if we remember, what the great Napoleon said in St. Helena, when left to an undisturbed contemplation of the powers and influences then acting in Europe, "In fifty years Europe will be either republican or Cossack!" And still more if we compare with this prophecy the hereditary* ambitious

* Compare the despatch of Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord John Russell, from Petersburg, Jan. 22, 1853: "You know," his Majesty (the Emperor Nicholas) said, "the *dreams and plans* in which the Empress Catharine was in the habit of indulging, *these were handed down to our time*, but while I inherited immense territorial possessions, I did not inherit those visions, those intentions, *if you like to call them so.*"

schemes of that gigantic, semi-barbarous empire, which embraces already nearly half of Europe and Asia, and a part of America.

But as to what Europe will be, if it becomes Cossack, if it becomes one great Russian panslavistic empire, we may paint its future after the features, which Custine, the Russian Golowin, and many other writers of different nations give of the Russian empire; and if we read what Moritz Wagner, a German, tells us, who lived some years in the wastes of South Russia, inhabited by Cossack and Tartar tribes:* "What is the future," he writes, "of this world of wastes? The greatest misfortunes with which Europe has been visited have always proceeded from these countries. Is their historical importance at an end, and do they no longer menace civilization? I do not pretend to second sight, but it appears to me, that the supple and serviceable Cossack has taken on himself the duties of the tame elephant, which is employed in capturing and cajoling his fellows. Hundreds of the warlike hordes of the Siberian deserts are already tamed, and have learned to obey the far-reaching word of command from the Neva. In the army-lists they already figure as recruits ready to join the active army. Thousands of drill-serjeants from Moscow and the Don are teaching them to manœuvre, and the stations of these men extend even to the confines of the empire of China. For more than ten years they have been busily employed in forming the horsemen of these wastes into squadrons. They are very picturesque corps, these bristly centaurs of the waste; and inquisitive Europeans may sooner or later have an opportunity of seeing them. It is possible that these tamed brutes of the desert are being taught to wheel and go through other military evolutions at the word of command, in order that 200,000 of them may be made to parade before the eyes of the inhabitants of the west."

* The Correspondent gives in the "*Times*, March 4, 1854, this extract from the Work of Moritz Wagner on the Caucasus, published in Leipzig, 1850.

Another passage is extracted from the work of a Slavonic writer: "We, slaves, are bound to give our brethren in the west a warning of the highest importance. The west is too oblivious of the north of Europe and Asia, the home of rapacious and destructive races. Let it not be supposed, that these nations have ceased to exist; like clouds charged with storms, they are awaiting but the all-powerful command to advance and desolate Europe. Let it not be thought that the spirit which animated Attila, Jengis Khan, and Tamerlane, those scourges of mankind, is extinct. Those countries, those nations, and the spirit which prevails in them, warn Christian civilization not to be lulled into security; they warn them that the time has not yet arrived for turning their swords into ploughshares, and barracks into houses dedicated to benevolent purposes." But is there really a fear for Europe from these rapacious and destructive barbarians of the east? Have not Oltenitza, Citate, and Silistria, sufficiently shown that the brutish courage of these barbarians cannot stand against the enthusiasm of the Turks, much less against the logical courage and drill of organized Europeans? These points we shall consider in the sequel.

II. UNIVERSAL EMPIRES, AND RUSSIA.

The idea of a Universal Empire is as old as the tower of Babel. The object of this singular building was to hold mankind together in one great family or state, "lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth," as we are told by the Scriptures. This idea formed the political foundation of every state of antiquity; and as in the ancient world politics and religion were in an immediate union, Universal Monarchy was more than a mere political ambition, it was the first commandment of religion to every ancient nation. From the fabulous times of Semiramis, who went to conquer India, or the great Egyptian hero Sesostris, down to the conquests of Rome, history reports one continual series of attempts to unite the nations of the earth into one great empire.

Not only was the ambition of a spirited despot like Salmanassar, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, unable to bear the idea of an independent neighbour; but the natural desire of man to impose his own opinions and convictions, his own orthodox faith upon his fellow-creatures, becomes in primitive and uncivilized individuals or nations a religious fanaticism, which, like a most powerful lever, compels them not to rest until every one in the world is either converted or slain. Thus war and conquest was with the ancient Persians the fulfilment of the first commandment of the Zentavesta. Iran (Persia) the realm of Ormuzd, the realm of light, was to conquer Turan (Non-Persia), the realm of darkness. Thus the Jews expected the Messiah to be a great Conqueror, who would come to make the sons of Abraham the reigning nation of the earth. Thus even the more civilized and humane Greeks allowed themselves to be

led against the "Barbaroi" of Asia by a man who asserted his right of conquering, as the son of Jupiter Ammon. Thus the Roman Emperors gave laws to all nations of the then known world, under the title of "Deus" or "Divinus."

Amongst the most striking features of antiquity was this, we may call it, monarchical character. There was in the ancient world no idea of that which we call in modern times "System of States," or a free intercourse between independent nations, based on a "balance of power." The great states of the ancient world did not exist beside each other in the height of their power, or form a kind of aristocratic commonwealth, as the civilized nations of our times do, but succeeded each other in their ambition and their conquests. When Assyria fell, Babylon rose; Persia established her power on the ruins of Babylon and Egypt; and the Greek universal empire of Alexander, who had destroyed Persia, was soon superseded by the gallant Roman. The different periods of antiquity can be thus characterized by that nation, which was at the time the monarch and the ruler of the historical world.

The middle ages changed entirely this feature of history. The Germanic tribes, although belonging to the same great nation, established on the ruins of the Roman empire a number of different states, nearly equal in power, out of which has grown, as we may call it, the aristocratic commonwealth of the modern European states.

But the idea of a Universal Empire was not entirely lost. The Bishops of Rome, the masters of that city, where every stone reminded them of its past dominion of the world, proclaimed themselves the head not only of the invisible church of Christ, but of that visible church, which appeared dressed out with all the splendour of a worldly empire, and pretended to be the supreme government, spiritual as well as political, of all the nations of the earth. Thus the world beheld the curious sight of different political states united to a spiritual monarchy,

of which the avowed monarch was Christ, the real monarch the Pope.

Besides this spiritual rule in Europe there arose in Asia another candidate for the empire of the world in the attempt of Muhamed. The Muhametan empire had more the antique Asiatic character; it combined the political element with the religious without any such distinction, as, however effaced sometimes by the pretensions of popery, was still the fundamental principle of the European world. The Koran commands the faithful followers of Muhamed to make war on the unfaithful, and to change the earth into one great kingdom of Allah and his prophet. Thus the middle ages saw two powerful pretenders to the dominion of the world: the one, priest by profession, but invested with all the power of a sovereign, having all the chivalry of Europe at his command; the other priest and soldier in one person, rallying around his Crescent the fanatic tribes of Asia and Africa: the one the chief of the German-Christian, the other the head of the Arabian-Muhametan world. It could not fail, that both these pretenders in the attempt at executing their political ambition and religious pretensions should meet each other, and bring their strength to a test. The crusades avowedly undertaken to rescue the birth-place of Christ from the unbelievers, were in reality a struggle between these pretenders, between the Christian world of Europe and the Muhamedan world of Asia. But Christian Europe, inferior in civilization to its antagonist, had to leave Asia and its sensual nations to Islam. The chivalry of Italy, France, Germany, and England, returned after a struggle of 200 years, and at the commencement of the 14th century it seemed, that the time for crusades was gone for ever.

The middle ages witnessed the two great attempts at Universal Monarchy—the Church of Rome in Europe, the Muhametan Empire in Asia and Africa. The former tried to conquer the latter in Asia: the latter attacked the former in Europe. The Muhametan rule got a transient domination in Spain, and an “encamp-

ment in the East of Europe; but all attempts of the latter to penetrate into the heart of Europe failed, as the attempts of the Christians in Asia and Africa had failed. We meet at the commencement of the middle ages with another great state, which pretended to be a continuation of the Roman empire, and even called itself "*Sanctum Imperium Romanum nationis Germanae*," an empire which, under the genius of Charlemagne, threatened to become a real *Imperium Romanum*, and to reunite the nations of Europe. *But the principle of division and individualism is a deep trace, a fundamental feature in the life of Germanic Europe.* Since the destruction of the Roman empire there has been a continual struggle between *this principle of individualism*—which prevents nations, different by habits, by language, by religion, by character, from being formed into one great uniform nation—and *the hereditary idea of an universal empire*, which attempts over and over again to establish one united rule of law, custom, and religion. But the spirit of difference, of individualism, is too deeply rooted in the life of modern Europe—it is the fundamental principle of the modern ages, and as such, too strong to be overturned. *All the attempts to abolish it, and to introduce again the uniform character of antiquity, have failed, and will fail in future.* "Where spirit is, there is difference, division, individuality," says the philosopher Hegel; and is it not this principle of individualism, so strong in the character of the Anglo-Saxon race, which has brought this race to such a pitch of prosperity and strength?

The empire of Charlemagne rose again in the empire of Germany; and the house of Austria was about to become master of Europe, when the thirty-years' war put—by the united efforts of the German Protestants, of Sweden, France, and even the Pope—a stop to the ambition of the Hapsburg family.

Thus the creation of the French empire by the genius of Napoleon I., not to mention the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV., was another renovation of the empire of Charlemagne, another attempt at an universal monarchy.

Again history beholds Europe in arms to crush the French ambition as it had crushed the Austrian before.

If the Western Roman empire had left its pretensions to any spirited and ambitious prince who might take them up, *the Greek empire of Constantine bequeathed no less its ambition first to the Turks, then to the Russians.* The Sultans asserted that the empire of the East had not been dissolved, but that it had only passed by their conquest of Constantinople into stronger and more deserving hands. They claimed, therefore, to represent the majesty of the great Constantine, and called themselves "Padishah" or Emperor. It must be remembered, that the title Emperor, now borne by about eight rulers of mankind, exclusive of his black Imperial Majesty Faustin of Hayti, was in the middle ages a title which had necessary relation to the ancient Roman empire, and was therefore only borne by the head of Germany—which was considered as the heir of the Western Roman empire—and by the rulers of Constantinople—the heirs of the Eastern or Greek empire. But the Sultans considered themselves not only as the heirs of the Cæsars of Constantinople, they claimed even a right to the Western empire. It was with these pretensions that Muhamed II. crossed the Adriatic, landed on the Italian coast, and menaced Rome with the fate of Constantinople, and that Othman penetrated into Germany and besieged Vienna. The Ottoman rulers of Constantinople were so proud of the title "Emperor," that they only after great difficulties condescended to acknowledge the Czarina Anna of Russia as Empress, that they refused to acknowledge an "Imperial dignity" in any crown but their own; and that, strange to say, as late as 1804, when Napoleon I. at the height of his power and glory assumed the title of Emperor, the Porte seriously opposed the assumption as infringing the peculiar rights of the Sultans.

But the ambition of the Padishahs of Constantinople was soon surpassed by that of their north-eastern neighbours. Ivan the Great, who in 1481 first introduced

Russia as an independent state to the states of Christendom, married Sophia the last of the Greek princesses ; adopted as the ensign of his state the double eagle of the Greek empire, and expressed by this fact the opinion, that the imperial dignity of Constantine had passed over to him as the husband of the heiress of the Greek Cæsars. Thus we have two pretenders to the imperial crown of Constantine : the one draws his claim from the right of conquest ; the other from that of inheritance : and it is not at all to be wondered at, that these two powers should have lived for centuries in a continual state of warfare. The Ottoman empire soon shared the fate of all Asiatic conquests,—its decay rapidly followed its ascension. The more the Ottoman decreased in power, the more the Russians increased, especially at the expense of the former ; and their ambition went still further than their power. When Peter the Great ascended the throne of Ivan he did not lose sight of the pretensions of his great ancestor. His eyes were first directed towards the North, where on the shores of the Baltic a youth sat on the Swedish throne, whose age, he thought, he could take advantage of with less difficulty, for Turkey was at this time still a formidable power. When Charles XII. was conquered, and Russia had got a footing on the Baltic, Peter directed his eyes to his hereditary enemy. Could his enormous ambition forget the marriage of Ivan with the heiress of the Cæsars ?

Besides this, Constantinople was the early patroness of Russian civilization—the missionary of her christianity, from which the recollections of the Russian people have never been estranged. This first mother of her civilization, this teacher of her faith, had fallen into the hands of unbelievers ; must it not naturally become a very popular idea in Russia to give it back to the Christian faith, and to the heirs of Ivan and Sophia ? If the accident of Ivan's marriage and of the popular religious feelings showed already to the Czars the way to Constantinople, the possession of Turkey is a *conditio sine qua non* in the plans of Russian ambition. Russia, before Peter

the Great, was no real European power : although in possession of vast territories which are reckoned as belonging to the European continent, she had no influence upon the political life of Europe. When Peter by his travels in the West became acquainted with the civilization and the politics of Europe, he conceived the two-fold idea—by which his government henceforth was directed—of introducing this civilization into Russia, and of giving to Russia when so civilized, a place in the political world of Europe, worthy of her immense territorial extensions. But to bring the power of these vast dominions to bear upon European history, it was first necessary to come into material contact with the West. Three points of connexion offered themselves to the eye of Peter : *Poland*, which as the neighbour of Germany, leads into the very heart of Europe ; *the Baltic*, the great water road of communication for the North ; and the *Black Sea*, which should be for Russia the ante-chamber of the Mediterranean.

Peter's taste for maritime matters led him towards the Baltic and Black Sea : Poland was to be left for his successors. But sea shores have no political importance for a country without a navy. When Peter died he had accomplished his intentions towards the Baltic—he left his successors a fleet in this sea. In the South he had been obliged to content himself with the sea of Azof, in which he had established another fleet ; and with the commerce of the Black Sea. The policy and ambition of Peter became hereditary in the government of Russia. Whoever sees himself in possession of this half of Europe must naturally have the desire of developing its internal strength, and making this strength felt in the world. Nothing is therefore more contrary to the natural feelings of a human heart, and certainly more hypocritical than the words of the Emperor Nicholas to Sir G. H. Seymour : * “ On the contrary, my country is so vast, so happily circumstanced in every way, that it would

* See Sir G. H. Seymour's despatch to Lord John Russell from St. Petersburg, January 22, 1853.

be unreasonable in me to desire more territory, more power than I possess." It is true Russia is so vast, but not at all happily circumstanced. As long as the development of the wealth and industry of a country are dependent upon commercial treaties with other countries,* are subjected to restrictions imposed upon them by other nations; as long as all the rivers and all the seas are not free and open to all nations, so long a powerful navy will be necessary for the happy circumstance of a country,† and this powerful navy must not be locked up in inland seas. That Russia is strong in Europe cannot be denied; *but she is strong not by her wealth, not by her armies or navies, but by the cunning of her diplomatists, by the far-sightedness and unscrupulousness of her statesmen, and by the fear which the European Princes have of liberalism.* That Russia herself depends more on her ambassadors and diplomatists than on her armies and navies the events since the Menschikoff mission have fully proved.—Russia wants for the development of her strength the command of the outlets of the Baltic and the Black Sea; Russia wants Turkey and the Dardanelles, Denmark and the Sound. When Russian fleets can freely float on the waves of the Pacific and Atlantic; when her navy is no longer a navy manœuvring in the Baltic to frighten Stockholm or Dantzic, but a navy of the world, then, but no sooner, the Emperor Nicholas can boast that Russia is "so happily circumstanced." All her material interests alone point Russia towards the Bosphorus and the Sound; she is

* The Russian Ambassador said to Lord Aberdeen in June, 1829, "With respect to the free navigation of the Bosphorus, it constitutes one of our necessities, for to it the prosperity of a part of the domains of the Emperor is united by an indissoluble link. We cannot permit the caprice of a Vizier or a favorite Sultana to arrest at will the whole movement of commerce—the whole progress of public and private industry in many of our provinces!" See D. Urquhart's "Progress of Russia," pp. 307.

† In former days Venice and Holland, at present England and America, give the best proof of it.

by internal necessity driven to conquest, but not by the so-called "madness" of her present Emperor. Have not all the preceding Emperors followed the same course of aggression? This Russia, as she exists with her vast dominions and her undeveloped resources, and with her imminent necessity of developing them, is the great danger of Europe—the sword of Damocles, which hangs over its head.

But when the Russians have got possession of the inheritance of the "sick man;" when Denmark has, by the kindness of European statesmen, become a Russian province; when the Russian fleets, manned with excellent Greek and Danish sailors, are able to compete with the English in the waters of the Pacific and the Indian Seas; when Russia is really so happily circumstanced; when to the cunning of Russian diplomatists is joined the persuasive power of a Russian army and a Russian navy, will Russian ambition then stop there? Will then those "dreams and plans in which the Empress Catharine was in the habit of indulging," and which were "handed down to our time," be left only half realized; or will not the ghost of the Roman empire rise again in the *Holy Russia*, in a Roman Empire of the Russo-Slavonic nation—a Sanctum Imperium Romanum Nationis Russo-Sclavæ?

Pamphlets, which from time to time appear on the Continent, and which are especially spread in the Slavonic provinces of Austria and Turkey, tell us, that the future of Europe belongs to the Slavonian race; that only the disunion of these races has hitherto prevented their domination. It is Russia's destiny, we are told there, to unite these races, under her energetic sceptre, and to establish one great Panslavistic empire, which would easily subjugate the present old and decrepid states of Europe.—Are the Slavonians really destined to introduce a new period into the history of Europe? Shall a Slavistic Europe follow the reign of the Germanic Europe? Shall Europe live to see once more the antique sight of a universal monarchy?

Russia's success since Peter the Great has been astonishing; and if her future should be as her past was, she will be in a hundred years master of Europe. But what is still more astonishing is, that she owes this success much less to the number or bravery of her armies, than to her diplomacy; that she understands how to turn the disunion, the jealousy, the pride, the fear, all the passions and weaknesses of her neighbours, and of the European governments in general, to her own advantage. When Peter I. commenced his first war against the Turks (1686), he was in alliance with the Emperor of Germany and with Poland. In his war against Sweden, the Poles, the Saxons, and the King of Denmark were his allies. Peter made conquests on the Baltic, whilst Charles XII. was engaged in beating King Augustus of Poland; as soon as the Swedish king appeared against Peter the Russians were driven out of all their conquests. When Charles XII., at Pultawa, was defeated, the number of the Russians were by far superior, and the Swedish army was decimated and exhausted by the severe winter and unceasing combats. Peter was afterwards (1711) in the war against the Porte, surrounded at the Pruth, and would have been annihilated, if his wife had not *bribed the Grand-Vizier*, and procured him free retreat and *peace*. Of the exhaustion and embarrassment of Sweden, caused by the follies of Charles XII., advantage was naturally taken. Whilst Sweden was pressed by Denmark, Prussia, and Hanover, to make concessions on all sides, Peter devastated in a dreadful manner the Swedish coast, and obtained by these savage proceedings the cession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, a part of Carelia and Viborglehn, with some islands, against payment of about £300,000. Thus Peter the Great had during his whole reign won only *one decisive battle* (Pultawa) against an army exhausted, and far inferior in number, whilst he was defeated by a Swedish army far inferior in number,* and was at the Pruth entirely at the mercy of

* Charles XII. defeated, in the battle of Narva (1700) with 8000 Swedes, 40,000 Russians.

the Turkish Grand-Vizier. Notwithstanding this, he added the Baltic provinces, of enormous value for Russia, to his empire, got the Sea of Azof, and the free commerce of the Black Sea.

In the next Russian war against the Turks (1737-39), Austria was again the ally of Russia, and although the Russian Generals, Munich and Lascy, obtained some successes, as the Turks were attacked by the two powerful empires, the Russians were obliged to make peace as soon as the Austrians had ceased to fight.

As Austria now became anxious about the progress of her former ally, especially about her intrigues in Poland, Russia was obliged to fight the war of 1768-74 alone against the Turks. But she now took refuge in those measures which she has never since ceased to employ in the dominions of her enemies. *The Greeks of Morea were seduced by Russian agents, and the Mamelukes, under Ali Bey in Egypt, by Russian promises, to revolt,* and by this measure the Turkish forces were obliged to divide themselves. This war, in which the Russians, although on many points successful, were unable to conquer Silistria and Varna, was concluded by the celebrated treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardje. By this treaty, as it is known, the Crimea came into possession of Russia, although the Russians were, as usually, so cautious as only to stipulate that the Tartars of the Crimea should be independent* of Turkey. In the following Russo-Turkish war (1787-92), Austria appeared once more as the faithful ally of the Muscovite; this time even Austrians and Russians fighting side by side, in the battles of Fokzani and Martinestje. Again Russia did not feel inclined to continue the war by herself, for, when Leopold I. of Austria was, especially by the menaces of Prussia,† compelled to make the peace of Tzistove, 4th

* Catharine then compelled (1783) the Khan of the Crimea to abdicate, and incorporated this peninsula and the wastes of Kuban to the Russian empire.

† The King of Prussia marched, with 100,000 men, to the frontier of Bohemia. This step was taken by the advice of the Prussian Minister, Herzberg, and the English Mr. Pitt.

Aug. 1791, Catharine concluded immediately afterwards, 9th January, 1792, the peace of Jassy. The Dniester became then the Russian frontier.

The same means as those in the former wars were employed by the Russians in the war of 1807-12, this time even assisted by England, which attacked Egypt. But the other faithful ally of the champions of order was also not wanting—the revolution. Whilst the Servians, under Czerny Georg, revolted, the capital, Constantinople itself, was torn by the revolution of the Janissaries against the introduction of European discipline by Selim III., who was obliged to abdicate, and against Mustapha IV., who was murdered. The exhaustion of the Porte by her struggles with revolutionary Greece, assisted by England, France, and Russia, was too tempting a juncture for the present magnanimous Emperor Nicholas to allow to pass over without taking advantage of it for the aggrandizement of Russia.*

No war shows so well the Russian intention towards Turkey, no war shows the means Russia employs in realizing her schemes, so fully in their treacherous light, as that of 1828. The Turkish fleet was, thanks to the far-sighted policy of England and France, just destroyed at Navarino; the finances exhausted, the army, after the destruction of the Janissaries (1826), and before the European discipline could get a footing in it, disorganized; many of the Pashas, and the powerful Ulemas, by the introduction of reforms, were discontented; and the dependent Greeks, by the success of their brethren in Morea, excited to hopes of independence.

* The treaty with England and Russia (6th July, 1827) bound each of the allies not to acquire territory, nor to suffer it to be acquired: and in the protocol to this treaty, it was said: "His Britannic Majesty and his Imperial Majesty will not seek, in this arrangement, for any increase of territory, nor any extensive influence, nor any advantages in commerce for their subjects, which shall not be equally attainable by all other nations."

That, of course, was the time for the "friendly feelings towards the Sultan, which animate the Emperor of Russia,"* to show themselves. To declare war against the Porte, to occupy the Danubian provinces, and attack Bulgaria on one side, while Prince Paskewitch penetrated into Asia Minor on the other side; that was the time for the Emperor Nicholas to show himself "eager for the prolonged existence of the sick man."†

Notwithstanding this disorganized condition of the Turkish army, Varna was only conquered by Russian gold, and a Austrian officer assures us, that, when the passage of the Balkan was effected by means of a stratagem of war, the 45,000 half-starved sickly men, who reached Roumelia "would infallably have been annihilated if the fanaticism of the Turks had not for the moment been paralyzed by Sultan Mahmoud's new organization."‡

We see throughout this long chain of wars, that Russia has been exceedingly careful not to trust to the strength of her own armies; the *short-sightedness of other governments*, especially of Austria, and *revolts* were the principal means, by which she executed her schemes; they were the principal actors in her wars, in comparison with which her armies appear as mere auxiliaries. Indeed, in the whole course of Russian history, we look in vain for those splendid military achievements which caused the greatness of other states.—Nor has Russia acted in a different way towards her other neighbours, Poland and Sweden. Religion gave her in the former country an opportune pretext for meddling just as now with Turkey. The non-Catholics were in Poland excluded from all the state-offices, and from political influence in general; just as they were at that time in all the Catholic countries in Europe, and as the Catholics were in the Protestant countries. Catharine II., of course, hastened

* Sir H. Seymour's despatches.

† Sir H. Seymour's despatch II.

‡ Statements of the *Presse* of Vienna by an Austrian staff-officer.

to claim for the Non-Catholics equal right with the Catholics, in a century in which, in Voltairian France, *Maurepas* dared to say to *Necker*, "What! you in the council-room, and you do not go to mass! It is true, the disunion of the noblemen, and their struggle against the royal power, brought on the destruction of the kingdom of the Jagellons, but those who contend, that Poland had fully deserved her fate, as she was not able to govern herself, and as her nobility was tyrannical towards her peasantry, should consider, that the disunion was to a great extent created and fostered by Russia, (which especially prevented any consolidation of the royal power, at that time so necessary in Poland,) and that the condition of the peasantry was at that time nowhere much better in Europe, and is still to-day no better in Russia herself. And as for the religious question, the same Russia which afterwards treated with such unheard-of cruelty the Catholics in Poland, had certainly no right, in a mere moral point of view, to interfere for the tolerance of the Non-Catholics. But the Russian Czars and Czarinas seem to have a peculiar predilection for abusing that which is most sacred to man, for their ambitious purposes, because it is most able to rouse the strongest passions of the human heart.

Thus, as is well known, Poland did not fall by the force of the Russian armies, but by the power of Russian gold, and by the diabolical cunning of Russian intrigues. Here as in Turkey, Russia understood how to get, besides revolt and dissension in the camp of her prey, other allies who assisted her in carrying out her intentions for a small recompense. Even the great Frederick* was blind enough to take a share in the

* It is contended by some Polish writers, that Frederick the Great first proposed the partition of Poland in his quality as Duke of Preussen, for Preussen, they say, was a fief of the crown of Poland; still Frederick's German countries were "de jure" at least a fief of the German empire. But *Ranke* (9 books of Prussian history) shows, that in November, 1657, at a meeting at Bromberg,

spoil, though he well saw through the Russian schemes towards Turkey, when he said : " Whenever the Russians are in Constantinople, they will be within two days of Koenigsberg."

It is unnecessary to mention, that Russia's conduct towards Sweden was not different ; inconsistency has never been a fault of the Russian statesmen. The example which Peter the Great gave towards this country has been followed up admirably by his successors, viz., to get up alliances against it, and to attack it just when it seems to be least able to defend itself, as during the childhood of Charles XII. ; and the struggles of the parties of the *hats* (Iyllenburg) and the *caps* (Horn) show, that the other lever of Russian aggression was not wanting.*

Russia had the good fortune of being surrounded by decaying empires, all her neighbours were " sick men," as Turkey and Poland, and in Asia, Persia. Her policy was therefore everywhere to increase the sickness of these neighbours ; to hasten the approach of their death, and to prepare herself for the inheritance. She preferred as long as possible the application of the persuasive physic of diplomatists and agents, the stronger medicine of bayonets and cannons she generally liked only to apply in connexion with some other physician, whom

the king of Poland and the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, took the oath upon the treaty that every allegiance of the Duchy of Preussen to the Polish crown should be dissolved. On the contrary, the first proposition to a partition of Poland was made by the king Augustus II. of Poland himself in the year 1732.

* The words of *Voltaire* about Peter the Great express the whole policy of Russia : " *Tel était le czar ; et ses grands desseins n'étaient encore qu'ébauchés lorsqu' il se joignit aux rois de Pologne et de Danemark contre un enfant, qu'ils méprisaient tous. Le fondateur de la Russie voulut être conquérant ; il crut pouvoir le devenir sans peine.* Now it is here a child (un enfant), then it is there a sick man" (un homme malade).

she even allowed to partake in the inheritance.*

If Russia thus by the superior skill of her statesmen knew how to take advantage of the weakness and short-sightedness of European governments, *she acquired her real strength when she identified herself with the idea of Legitimacy and Absolutism.*

* The so-called testament of Peter the Great says : sec. 11. To win the interest of Austria for the expulsion of the Turks out of Europe ; and if Constantinople is conquered, to neutralise her jealousy by exciting the old states of Europe to make war against her, or by ceding to her a part of the conquest, which we shall take back as soon as possible.

III. ABSOLUTISM.

Since the commencement of the 17th century the political institutions of Europe had undergone a great change. The feudal system of the middle ages had at least in its higher relations given way to the absolutism of royalty. The last States-General were convoked in France in the year 1614, and the phrase of Louis XV. "l'état c'est moi" was not only true in France, but in all the greater states of Europe except England. The Reformation, and in its consequence—the thirty-years' war—was especially favourable to the full development of royal power.* The nobility had become poor, the princes on the contrary—in the Protestant countries, by the destruction of the convents, by seizing the highest ecclesiastical authority, and by the introduction of the standing armies—rich and powerful. After the thirty-years' war there existed no longer "Landstaende" (a kind of States-General) in Germany, or where they did exist, they were powerless with the exception only of Mecklenburg. In Sweden Charles XI. finished the work of absolutism, commenced by his predecessor. In Denmark the States-General themselves had in 1660 and 1661 established the absolute power of the king. At the commencement of the 18th century Europe saw despotism firmly established on all the more powerful thrones on the continent. Despotism seemed to be a

* Gervinus in his "Einleitung in die Geschichte des 19 ten Jahrhunderts" says, that the Turks after the conquest of Constantinople set to the European governments the example of a consolidated and absolute government. It is true that in the latter part of the 15th century the princes commenced a violent struggle against the power of the nobility, as Louis XI. in France, Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain; but this struggle had its internal necessity, and was to a great extent caused by the introduction of Roman law, the Codex Justiniani.

necessary transition from the feudal institutions to the free democratical life of the modern world. Where the old feudal system was stationary as in Poland, it was to the ruin of the power and prosperity of the country; and however despotism or the absolutism of royal power is contrary to feelings of an independent character, and how much soever it is a fetter to the free development of a civilized nation; the despotism of the 17th and 18th century was necessary for breaking up the old feudal world, and for laying the foundation-stone of self-government. The feudal world was based on the serfdom of the working classes, it is in its principle the contempt of labour. The princes tried everywhere to found their power upon the middle and even working classes; they favoured commercial enterprises and protected them against the robbery of the nobles, especially in Germany; they patronized science and art by the foundation of universities and schools, they introduced a regulated administration of justice, and strove even to liberate the peasantry from the arbitrary oppression of the nobles. The idea of a common "Vaterland" and patriotism, unknown to the divided world of feudalism, arose by the centralizing power of royalty as a mighty lever in modern history. Thus it was the destiny of despotism to prepare the way for self-government and democracy.

The Reformation, if it assisted in developing absolutism, carried in itself the counterpoise against the abuse of royal power. The same mighty instrument which destroyed the *greatest* of all tyrannies—the spiritual tyranny, was not very likely to put a political tyranny in its place, without giving some remedy against this second of all evils. It is often justly remarked, that spiritual and political slavery are inseparably connected with one another.

Whatever darkens the mind of man, whatever prevents the free researches of his divine reason, makes him fit for all kinds of superstition—spiritual as well as political—makes him a faithful slave of Rome as well as of

St. Petersburg. The despots in their first exertions to free themselves and their people from the fetters of Rome forgot this truth: they educated man, they taught him to think for himself, because they fancied they could erect on the ruins of the infallibility of the Pope their own infallibility. The reign of despotism over the hearts of men in Europe was naturally short, for despotism can only govern the heart by means of religious superstition,* and this superstition was destroyed by the Reformation and the exertions of the princes themselves. The *divine right of royalty* is a doctrine contrary to the fundamental principles of Protestantism.†

The same century, which first beheld the full and undisturbed reign of absolutism on the continent, created a Rousseau, and witnessed the beheading of a king. Strange to say, there was a time in this same century, when the greatest despots thought of giving up their despotism freely; when the great Frederick of Prussia said, that he was "tired of governing over slaves;" when even Catharine II. of Russia summoned (1767) a great number of deputies of all orders, languages, and religions, of the Russian empire to Moscow to prepare a constitution. Such was at that time the strength of the conviction, that despotic government was equally tiresome to kings, and untenable over civilized nations.‡ The liberation of America was hailed in the official Gazette at Berlin by a poem, which speaks about the fetters of tyrants, and greeted the approaching hour, when these fetters will be broken by the rising people of Europe. Voltairians and Illuminati|| were the confessors of kings, the members of their private council.

* The despotisms of Asia and Russia show that in a most striking manner.

† Therefore the leaning of all the continental despots towards Catholicism.

‡ See the reforms of Joseph of Austria and Leopold of Tuscany.

|| The Illuminati are the Jesuits for the cause of freedom and liberalism; this order was founded by Professor Weisshaupt in Germany.

The French Revolution soon put a stop to "liberalism upon the throne;" the "coquetterie" with Rousseau and Voltaire seemed too dangerous an experiment for the princes. They had no idea that doctrines could be dangerous against cannons and bayonets, that ideas could be as powerful as standing armies. The French Revolution opened their eyes. Since this great event liberalism has ceased to reside upon the thrones of the continent. The first effect which this Revolution had on the continent, was quite contrary to what could be expected. Instead of seeing, that the Revolution was an unavoidable consequence of the extravagance of monarchy, a fearful lesson on the falsehood of the divine right of despotism, they ascribed its atrocities to the doctrines of liberalism and to the weakness of a monarch. From this day dated the great division in the camp of Europe. The governments, frightened by the revolutionary storms which swept over France, drew closer to each other, and a coalition was formed, which was destined to make war as well against the armies of the revolution as its ideas. At the head of this first great coalition against France, we see two powers, most opposed in their principles of political and social life, England and Russia—England and Russia! an alliance so unnatural, and notwithstanding of greater duration than the alliance of England with any other country! Had Russia anything to fear from the propagation of the ideas of the Revolution? Certainly not directly; but Russia embraced eagerly the opportunity to put herself forth as that country, which, thanks to the barbarous stupidity of her people, has least to fear from the internal dissensions of principles, and is therefore most fit to be the head quarters of despotism—of all those who abhor the principles of the French Revolution. The English aristocracy feared that the ideas of equality might overthrow its primogeniture and privileges; Russia was the only power which entered the coalition without fear, without hatred; she alone was able to watch events without excitement, and to take advantage as

well of the folly and extravagance of the French Revolutionists, as of the fear of her coalitionists. It is the French Revolution which made Russia so powerful in the council of the European governments. Since that day the Emperor of Russia has become the *great champion of order, the great guardian of peace* in the eyes of reactionary or conservative statesmen. Since that day the continental governments, which were formerly sometimes sincerely liberal, have thrown themselves *into the arms of despotism and—of Russia*. Whatever concessions have been since made on the continent, they were the results of fear and weakness, they were extorted in the hour of revolution, or promised in the hour of danger.

Let no one deceive himself by believing that there is one sincerely constitutional prince on the continent. The word of the Emperor Nicholas : “ Je conçois bien la république, mais je ne conçois pas la constitution ! ” is the conviction of all the monarchs of the continent, and the principle which regulates their governments.

IV. AMERICA.

A NEW idea may get hold of the heart of man at once; but to develop the consequences of this idea, and to introduce them into the real world, is the work of centuries. It is a difficult thing to part with institutions which have become dear to our heart, and which have grown up hand in hand with our interests. When we embrace a doctrine which is in utter discrepancy with those habits which we have loved from our childhood, we do not generally understand that there is a real discrepancy; and if we do, we often divide the questions, that they may not interfere with each other. That was the case in the middle ages with state and church, with heaven and earth, with God and the world, with theory and practice. As God was placed beyond the world, which was thought not clean enough for his residence, so the principles of religion were placed beyond the rules of state and society. The political man had nothing to do with the religious man.

Of course, this unnatural division could not last. After a struggle of one thousand five hundred years, ideas worked their way into existence, the church descended into the state, God returned to the world. Catholicism with its monarchical pope, with its aristocracy of priesthood, was unable to carry out the principle of the dignity of man—of the Godman. If the Catholic church acknowledged the equality of laymen, it was, because they were to be equally governed by the priest. The real man was not the layman, but the priest; human dignity existed only in the garment of the church.

Protestantism first carried out the great idea of Christianity. Man carries in himself the Divine light. Protestantism is religious democracy; it established the real

equality of men before God, it abolished the monarchy of the pope, and the aristocracy of the priesthood. Protestantism is the self-dependence of thought; it is free research into man's position towards God and the world. Protestantism must necessarily become political democracy.

What the first Christians strove to do, but were not able to do—to realise the principle of the dignity of man—the Protestants succeeded in realizing, but not in Europe, not in the old world. Europe and the old world was a world of institutions established and internally cemented with slavery, with religious and political monarchy, and with aristocracy. The attempts made to overthrow all these institutions and to create a new world upon the new principles, which were made in several places in Europe, especially in Germany, failed necessarily; first, because the majority of men were too intimately connected with the old world, and then because the new principle itself appeared enveloped in utopian extravagances, as a principle always does which is but the property of a few fanatics.

Democracy must first clear itself from its dangerous appendices, it must become the conviction of the mass, *here* it must first overturn the old feudal world, before it can take root. This process is a very slow one, it cannot be done at once.

It is the Teutonic race which was destined to realize religious and political democracy. It was Germany which effected the religious reformation: it was the Anglo-Saxon who wrought out the religious principles of this religious reformation into political existence.

Who must not admire the wonderful ways of Providence! The same time which beheld the struggle of Luther, drove a Spanish adventurer to the discovery of a new world,—a world which Spanish despotism thought of using for its tyrannical purposes; but which the great spirit of history had selected as the field, on which the idea, just produced in the old world by thousands of years of human exertions, was to be planted

and fostered, and should grow till it overshadowed the whole earth.

This new world was a "tabula rasa;" here there was nothing to be destroyed, which stood in the way of the new edifice; here every possible building could be erected without resistance, without that deadly struggle, which every reformer, every builder had to meet with in Europe. America was a blank sheet of paper, on which every character could be written; a few Anglo-Saxon Protestants went over and wrote on it the word, "Democracy," the great watchword of the future. This word was the idea, which thousands of years had laboured to produce in the old world. It was the tardy fruit of Christianity; it comprehended everything which every inspired mind had struggled and died for since the commencement of history.

For one moment the old world tried to establish itself in the new one, but it was in vain, its struggles served only to foster and to hasten the growth of the new principle.

Every liberal law, every popular custom, which was to be found here and there in the old states of Europe, in England, Holland, or Italy, and which had been established here without being conscious of its real principle in the hour of practical necessity, was proclaimed in Maryland, Rhode Island, or Connecticut, as the right of the individual. That liberty, which was but accidental, which was but a "privilege" on the old historical soil of Europe, became a conscious principle, became a right of man in the wilderness of America. Posterity admires the forward liberality of a Frederick the Great, who said, that every one in his states could go to heaven in his own "façon;" but a century before this great king the governor of Maryland took the oath, that he would not by himself or any other, "directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." "The Roman Catholics," says Bancroft, who were oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to "find a peaceful

asylum in the quiet harbours of the Chesapeake ; and there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance ;" and this was at a time when the most tolerant of European nations, the Germans were destroying each other with fire and sword in the thirty-years' war.

But these American colonies were by themselves too small to hold up to the world the practicability of their democratical principles. Besides this, being thousands of miles removed from the European theatre, they lived unregarded by the many, and unknown to the great mass of the nations of the old world. It was necessary that they should unite their strength and their principles, and that united they should become an independent member in the society of civilized states.

" The Declaration of Independence " by the " representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled," on the 4th July, 1776, opened a new era in the history of political life. The very commencement of this ever-memorable manifesto is remarkable, and in the true spirit of our democratic times. " When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, *a decent respect to the opinions of mankind* requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." Thus started the greatest democracy the world ever saw, with an appeal to the opinions of mankind, laying before the world a list of complaints, and invoking to public opinion for a judgment, that these complaints justify the absolution from all allegiance to an oppressive crown. " We hold these truths to be self-evident : that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that

whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing unvariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." Here there are laid down all the fundamental principles which form the popular demands of our times, *equality of men, certain unalienable rights, sovereignty of the people, right of resistance against tyranny.* It is true that these doctrines were not new, that on the contrary they were long since taught by many a writer of the old world, by Milton, Languet, Sidney, and others, that the sovereignty of the people and the right of resistance against tyranny, were even practised now and then in Europe, as in the English revolution, in Holland, Italy, Switzerland ; but they were never proclaimed as the fundamentall aw of a great country ; they were never before held up to the world by the whole of a great and sober nation as rights, which are born with men, and of which no people should allow itself to be deprived. The English "Magna Charta" was but a privilege granted by a weak and tyrannical king to some states of the English nation in the hour of danger, and the republics of Europe were governed by a few aristocratic families. The impression which this declaration, and the following success of the American struggle, made on the people of Europe, was enormous. Prepared as the mind already was by the French writers, the realiza-

tion of such principles was hailed with an enthusiasm which seized even those, against whom these principles were directed. In the "Salons" of the most absolute king of Europe and of the proudest feudal-aristocrats, the deeds of the Americans were applauded with an ardour which was only surpassed by the noble youth who hastened to offer his blood for the cause of freedom and equality. How little did these people anticipate, that a few years afterwards these same principles would lead them to the scaffold, or turn them into poor and homeless exiles !

V. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

HOWEVER great the influence was which the American Revolution exercised on the mind of the people of Europe, the very fact that this revolution was greeted with enthusiasm by monarchs and aristocrats, shows that the idea was very far from being entertained, that the principles, realized in the back woods of a country, thousands of miles distant from the soil of history, and on a boundless territory almost without proprietors, could be introduced into a world where every foot of land and every tree had its old historical right and privilege; where the individual was separated from the individual by the inheritance of centuries, and where every thing and every one had their master. Just as in the public schools and colleges of continental despotisms, the youth studies with zeal and affection the constitution of republican Greece and Rome, and a Professor of eloquence gives at the public celebration of the birthday of the monarch, and in his very presence, a Latin speech on the patriotic spirit of Brutus, and elevates in the most florid Ciceronian phrases his hatred against tyranny; so the American democracy appeared in Europe as a beautiful image, which even tyrants admired, but which was thought as far off from the European world as ancient Athens and Rome was from modern Paris, Vienna, or Berlin—as heaven is from earth. Democracy, a *practice* beyond, was still a *theory* on this side of the Atlantic.

The French Revolution came. In one night the whole edifice of feudalism, fostered by a thousand years, fell to the ground. The doctrines of liberty and equality, believed to be only practicable in the wilds of the new world, became the actual law of a great country in the ancient Europe—were sanctioned by the proudest of

kings, by a successor of Louis XIV. The great principles, which the American "Declaration" had only proclaimed in general terms, were specified and introduced under the name "the rights of men and citizens," the French constitution of 1791,—the first written modern constitution which Europe beheld.*

The "Rights of men" declared :—

"*Art. 1.* All men are born free and with equal rights. Social distinctions must have no other object than the common welfare."

"*Art. 2.* The end of every political association is the conservation of the natural and unalienable rights of man. These rights are: *liberty, property, safety, and resistance against oppression.*"

"*Art. 3.* The principal source of all Sovereignty is essentially in the nation. No corporation can exercise any other authority but that which is derived from the people."

"*Art. 4.* Liberty consists in being allowed to do every thing which does no harm to any other man. Therefore the exercise of the natural rights of man has no other limits than those which secure the advantages of the same rights to the other members of society. These limits can only be fixed by law."

"*Art. 5.* The law must prohibit only such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing which the law does not prohibit, ought be prevented; and nobody can be compelled to do what the law does not prescribe."

"*Art. 6.* The law is the expression of the will of all. All citizens have a right to take part either personally or by deputies in stating this will. The law must be equal for all, whether it be protecting or punishing. As all the citizens are equal before the law, the way to all dignities, employments, and public offices, must be equally

* As this Constitution is dated from the 14th September, 1791, and the Constitution of Poland from the 8th May, 1791, the Polish Constitution is properly the first. But this Constitution passed unregarded, as the eyes of Europe were at this time directed towards France, and as it never was executed.

open to all according to their ability, and without any other regard but to their virtues and talents."

"*Art. 7.* Nobody must be accused, arrested, or kept prisoner except in the cases fixed by law and under forms prescribed by law. He who tries to get, who gives, executes, or causes to be executed, arbitrary orders of arrest shall be punished."

"*Art. 8.* The law must fix only real and necessary punishments, and nobody must be punished except by order of a law, which is already issued before the commission of the offence, and which is published and applied in the lawful way."

"*Art. 9.* As every one is considered as not guilty until he is declared as guilty, every severity, which is not absolutely necessary for securing his person, must by all means be prevented in case his arrest should be considered unavoidable."

"*Art. 10.* Nobody shall be troubled on account of his convictions, not even in affairs of religion, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law."

"*Art. 11.* The free communication of thought and opinion is one of the most valuable rights of man; every citizen is allowed to speak, write, and print freely on condition, that he is responsible for the abuse of this freedom in cases fixed by law."

"*Art. 12.* An armed force is necessary for the guarantee of the rights of men and citizens; this force is to be established for the advantage of all, and not only for the special use of those to whom it is entrusted."

"*Art. 13.* A general taxation is unavoidable in order to keep that armed force, and for the other expenses of administration; this taxation must be equally divided amongst all citizens according to their fortune."

"*Art. 14.* All the citizens either by themselves or by deputies have the right to state the necessity of a public taxation, to give their free consent for levying it, to watch its use, and to fix the share of each, its amount, its levying, and duration."

"Art. 15. Society has a right to demand an account of his administration from every public servant."

"Art. 16. A society, in which the guarantee of rights is not secured and the separation of the powers not fixed, has no constitution."

"Art. 17. As property is an inviolable and sacred right, nobody can be deprived of it except public necessity, acknowledged by law, demand it imperiously; but even then only on condition of a just and previous indemnification."

Such "Rights" resounded like heavenly music in the heart of the continental people, who for a long course of years had seen nothing but the tyranny and profligacy of the courts, the insolence and worthlessness of the nobility, serfdom of the peasants, the wasting of the heavy public taxes with "maîtresses" and favourites, arbitrary arrests, imprisonments for years without trial, "jus primæ noctis," the defenders of the country sold to foreign princes to fight their battles beyond the ocean, confiscations, in short, every thing which degrades human nature. Was it to be wondered at, that when, after the insolent declaration of the Duke of Brunswick, and after a powerful league of despots had attacked France, the French armies entered the territories of their enemies, the mass of the people of these territories looked at least with indifference on this attack upon their governments, or hailed the conquerors with secret or open sympathies? Are the people to be reproached for not showing more patriotism than their masters, who taught them to fight for foreign interests against their own country and their own countrymen? The French Republic declared, that, "The men of all countries are brethren, and the different people must assist each other like citizens of the same state." And "whoever oppresses but one nation, he declares himself the enemy of all;" and certainly it had the same right to do so, as the despots had to league with each other against the liberty of the people, though they should even call this league a "*Holy Alliance*."

The conquests of the Republic and Empire manifested at once the rottenness of the continental states, and the weakness of despotism. Empires with half a million of soldiers fell in one day ; one battle, and less than that, was sufficient to destroy kingdoms. In many a capital the French armies were greeted, not as conquerors, but as deliverers by the brothers and sisters of those, whose blood they had just spilt in the latest battle.* Despotism lived to see that it had only flatterers in the hour of fortune, but no friends in the hour of danger. Of the monarchy of Frederick the Great, there remained after the battle of Jena, scarcely more than one province. Proud Austria, after having laid down the imperial title of Germany, saved herself by marrying her daughter to the conqueror, a "parvenu." The smaller states of Germany crept before the French generals, and were too glad to lead on an inglorious existence under their protection. When the French armies marched in triumph to the "holy city" of the "White Czar," deputies of Dissenters from the Orthodox Church came to greet the invaders as the conquerors of the "Antichrist," and the "holy Russia" has to thank only her existence for the dreadful rigour of her climate.

Never before were the principles of democracy so completely laid down in any European state document. The "Rights of men" became, therefore, not only the law of France, but as they had given a true expression to the political opinion of the whole civilized world, as in them man had become conscious of his right and his dignity, they are henceforth the guide of every liberal constitution. Wherever we see afterwards a struggle for constitutional rights, this "Declaration" was either openly upheld as the ideal image, or formed the pattern of all popular governments. Even in the aristocratic Parliament of England, Mr. Fox dared to declare, that he considered the new constitution of France, "as the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty, which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any age or country."

* For instance in Berlin, after the battle of Jena.

VI. DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY, AND COMMUNISM.

Down to the most recent times the word Democracy has had no good reputation in England. The English people in general had connected with the idea of democracy everything dreadful and unclean; revolt, barricades, murder, plunder, the guillotine, communism, filth waved before their eyes when they heard the word democracy pronounced. They have thought of the ochlocracy of Athens, under the guidance of the Tannar Cleon; of the wild outburst of popular passion under a Marat, and Collot d'Herbois; they have fancied democracy to be the government of the rabble, or rather the anarchy of the rabble. But the present war, and the attention it has drawn towards the condition of the continental people, has to a great extent smoothed down in England the hostile feelings towards democracy, so much so that the most conservative newspapers have changed the bad epithet, "democratic," into "ultra-democratic;" and, at the opening of the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham, an official speaker pointed out justly, that that glorious undertaking was a purely democratical one.

English society is more aristocratic than any society in Europe; nowhere are these exclusive and suspicious feelings so strong as in England, because the lower classes have been kept so long in a state of ignorance and rudeness, without a parallel in any country of the continent. It was natural, that the educated did not like to meddle with the uneducated and rough. The merits which the nobility have deserved in the development of English freedom, gave a lustre to the nobles, before which the other classes willingly bent. The institution of primogeniture, and the hereditary right of legislation on the one side; the costliness of a good education on the other side, have kept the mediæval state of society alive, the

more so as an insular position has allowed very little connection with continental society. If we understand democracy to be the participation of all classes of society in the government, by universal suffrage, the English people naturally could not be democratical, because a large portion of this people was neither educated enough for such a participation, nor had they the desire for it. But if we understand under democracy, the dominion of public opinion, there is perhaps, with the only exception of Switzerland, no country in Europe more democratical; for all those who have an opinion at all, have in England the power and liberty to pronounce this opinion, and to make its value felt. But what is democracy, and on what principle is it founded?—

Though the word democracy is a Greek word, (*δῆμος* people, *κρατῆν* to govern), and means the dominion of the people; the real value of democracy was never known by the Greeks, nor by any other people of antiquity. As democracy means the domination of the people, the question must naturally be, who are the people? The answer to this question is, in the different periods of ancient and modern history, very different; and however easy it seems, it is indeed very difficult to gain it. In the most democratical times of Athens, the most democratical state of Greece, an Athenian would have answered, all free Athenians are the people of Athens. Thus, as there were about 140,000 freemen, and 400,000 slaves, in Athens, these 400,000 slaves did not belong to the people; and if we consider the democracy of Athens in the light of modern democratical notions, the constitution of Athens was an aristocracy, the domination of the minority, of 140,000 men, over 400,000 fellow-creatures. The same is to be said about the so-called Roman democracy. But if democracy means not only the domination of the people, but the equal participation of all members of the people in the government, the Athenian constitution deserves much less the name of democracy; for many public offices, as for instance that of Ephetes, were only accessible to privileged persons;

and the differences of *αστος* ἢ *ἀμφοῖν*, *σοδος*, *μεισιχος*, etc., were still in existence in the most democratical times of Athens.

The fundamental principle on which the idea of democracy rests, is the *dignity of man*, or to use a German philosophical phrase, "the infinite value of personality." Man is an "image of God," as the Scriptures say, his real essence is divine; he is possessed of an immortal soul, and a divine reason. In this all men are alike, they are all children of God, they are all the "crown of creation;" the prince is like the beggar, the Negro like the European, the slave like the master. This idea, so simple, so intelligible, was unknown throughout thousands of years of human history.

Aristotle, the greatest of Greek philosophers, with all his metaphysical acuteness, could not perceive this simple truth; for him, slaves were born like beasts of burden, that man might be able to devote himself to higher occupations. Antiquity could thus produce no democracy, because it had no idea of humanity.

It was left to Christianity to pull down the barrier, which men had raised amongst themselves. Christianity is in its real character democratic, it proclaimed equality before God, it told the world that men are born equal, all children of God, and that the real value of man in this world, depends upon how far he has realized that which is born with him as a possibility; how far he has displayed this his true divine nature. If men are different, Christianity says, they are not so by nature, but by their desertion from this nature, by their apostacy from God.

It is often objected, why Christ and the first Christian communities did not directly attack slavery, why Christianity allowed for centuries the existence of serfs and slaves? The answer is not very difficult. The Christianity of the first ages directed its efforts not to the institutions but to the heart and mind of men; it wanted to recreate the internal man, of whom the external world is but a manifestation; it marched directly to the

source of human affairs. But in the brotherhood of the first Christians, slaves were received as well as freemen; and the Catholic Church of Hildebrand knew before its tribunal no difference between a serf and an emperor. Christianity showed so much its democratical character, that it principally addressed itself to the lower classes; and the word of Christ, about the rich man and the camel's going through the eye of a needle, proves sufficiently that Christ expected the regeneration of mankind principally from the uncorrupted heart of the lower classes. It is a peculiar observation, that in all great periods of transition, when the common understanding of man is overpowered by enthusiasm for those rising ideas which are destined to govern the coming period, democracy has raised its head, accompanied often by all the extravagances of an uncultivated and excited mind. These accessory companions of democracy have been mistaken for innate parts of its character, and have not a little contributed to make democracy unpopular and hated by the higher classes. In ordinary times the mind of man flows in the historic channel, narrowed by all the prejudices and superstitions handed down to the times; but when Providence wants to introduce a new world-moving idea, a recreating principle, it excites the enthusiasm of a hero or a martyr, who carries with him a crowd excited by his genius. This enthusiasm, generally excited first in the lower grades of human society, which are less tied to existing conditions, breaks through the ordinary flow of existing opinions, and tries to reconstruct the world by thoughts "a priori." But the mind lifted up by enthusiasm into the region of ideas, gets dizzy when it loses the existing world out of sight, and loses itself in phantasms. Thus communism was the steady companion of democracy, as well in the first Christian communities, as in the popular excitements following the Reformation; and in the French Revolution, so much so, that communism is with some people inseparable from democracy.

But we return to our first question, who are the people? Any one who attended the popular meetings on the Continent, during the years 1848—50, must have got the impression that many of the popular leaders answered the question thus: The working-classes are the people! *Louis Blanc*, in "*Hist. des dix ans*," says, "*Par bourgeoisie j'entends l'ensemble des citoyens qui, possédant des instruments de travail ou un capital, travaillent avec des ressources, qui leur sont propres et ne dépendent d'autrui que dans une certaine mesure. Le peuple est l'ensemble des citoyens qui ne possédant pas de capital dépendent d'autrui complètement, et en ce qui touche aux premières nécessités de la vie.*" Now it is very intelligible, that a public speaker should address himself a little to the vanity of his hearers, but many of those popular leaders went further. They called together a meeting of some thousand people, they agreed, after some stormy discussions, upon certain points referring to some political or social alteration; went then to the parliament, and demanded the execution of these points, "*in the name of the people.*" And these same leaders proclaimed democracy to be dominion of the majority! The aristocrats had certainly a right to say, "We also are a part of the people," and the deputies of the nation assembled in parliament objected justly, "We are the lawful representatives of the people." The working-classes are certainly a most necessary and respectable portion of the people; but it was a blunder of those democrats, who pretended to acknowledge nothing but the government of the majority, to mistake a portion for the whole, *pars pro toto*. But this mistake was caused by the historical process of social development. The French Revolution had destroyed the reign of the nobility and clergy, and established instead the reign of the "*bourgeois*," or the "*citoyen*;" but the French Revolution was more logical, it did not say, the "*bourgeois*" shall govern and not the noblemen and the priest, it went further, and said, *there shall be no noblemen and priest*, all shall be "*citoyens*." The French Revolution

was thus a social revolution as well as a political. But the principle of political and social equality, proclaimed in the first constitutions was violated, after the September days of '95, and the lower or working-classes were excluded.

The bourgeois had pulled down the barrier between himself and the nobleman, he erected now another between himself and the working-man. The whole tendency of the revolutions of our days is directed to destroy this new barrier, and to establish democracy, as many democrats *mistake* it, as the reign of the working classes; as the reasonable democrats comprehend it, as the reign of all, as the equal participation of all classes in government, as the reign of the people.

Here we arrive again at our question, Who are the people? to which the still more complicated question must be added: *How can and must the people govern itself?* These are the two fundamental questions, which democracy must answer, an answer which is open to infinite discussions.

The first cry of our times is, "Universal suffrage;" even aristocratic England has so far proceeded, as to admit that after a certain time, and under certain circumstances, the English people will be prepared for "universal suffrage," and are certain to have it; nay, has established it already in the colonies.

Thus "universal suffrage" seems by common consent to be the foundation-stone of a democratical government. But there are people for whom universal suffrage is not universal enough. Under universal suffrage is generally understood, that every male person, of the lawful age of twenty-one, or as in some States of Germany, twenty-four or twenty-five, has a vote in electing a representative of the people, unless he be a criminal, or an insane person. Now it is known that, especially some American ladies, assisted by some courteous gentlemen, consider that the "*mulier taceat in ecclesia*," the exclusion of women from political rights, is a remnant of barbarism, and contend, that Christianity has raised the female sex to an equal position with the male, and

that civilization demands imperiously, the participation of ladies in political rights. It is in vain to tell them, that by governing the men through the gentle bond of love, they have in reality a larger share in conducting public affairs than they themselves believe; it is in vain to assure them, that the greatest part of their sex does not wish at all to trouble themselves with political contests, that they are satisfied with the love of their husbands, and the dominion of the household.

It would lead us too far to dip deeper into this complicated question; we wanted only to show, that the answer to the question, who are the people? is more difficult than appears at the first glance.

But how can and must the people govern itself? On no political subject are there so many different opinions. It will suffice to point out the principal differences. Political science distinguishes, especially since Montesquieu, three principal actions or powers in the government,—legislation, (*la puissance législative*) administration, (*la puissance exécutive des choses, qui dependent du droit des gens*), and jurisdiction, (*la puissance exécutive de celles qui dependent du droit civil*). As to the legislation, it is general that the people exercise this right *through the medium of representatives*, as it is impossible that the whole people can in person partake in every measure of legislation; but in the “*ἐκκλησία*” of Athens, and in the “*Urversammlungen*” of Switzerland, the principal legislative questions are brought immediately before the whole male adult population, *which decides thus without the interference of representatives*. Another kind of democratical legislation, if we may call it so, has sprung up in our days in France. Here we see a people, which have given their whole legislative power *into the hand of one single individual*, whether willingly or not does not concern the theory. The question would be, whether such a government does not cease to be a democratical one; but mere theory must answer, that a people have certainly the right to give their legislation into the hands of one representative, as well as of 800!

Another consideration is, whether one individual is capable of representing in all his measures the true will of the people, even if he had the desire to do so, especially if he is not guided by a free press. The ingenuity of modern statesmen has invented another kind of representation, the "Urwaehler," all male members of the people choose a certain number of electors (Waehler) who have then to elect the representatives.

In the States General and national assemblies of the middle ages there were, properly speaking, not the people represented, but the nobility, the clergy, and the towns; to which in some countries in later times were added the small landed proprietors (Bauern). Every order acted in its own interest, and was constantly on its guard, that these interests were not violated by the other orders; the grossest egoism and jealousy were the chief actors in these assemblies, which seldom concerted any other measure in common than the support of a foreign war; sometimes the common resistance against an aggressive prince. These assemblies were easily overturned on the continent by the rising absolutism of royalty, which stood at least above the narrow-minded and narrow-hearted interests of the orders; and acted often in a patriotic spirit, and for the benefit of the oppressed.

Though there are still constitutions which rest on the mediæval principles of the representation of orders, towns, and interests, as in England, the character of modern constitutional policy is, that every representative shall act in the spirit and the name of the whole people; that his opinion shall represent public opinion. The democratical demand of our times is therefore, that the representative shall be elected by a district, or by a certain number of electors, without regard to their order, profession, or occupation. The English constitution, although theoretically based on mediæval principles, is practically acting in the spirit of modern times. The human principles of our days have so far overpowered the narrow-mindedness of special interests, that nobody

would dare to propose or support a measure, which by promoting the interests of a certain order, violated the common well-being; on the contrary, every representative, whilst proposing a measure of special interest, is anxious to show that this measure is as well for the common interest of the country, and every speaker in parliament takes great pains to present himself as the organ of the public opinion of his country, or still more as that of reason and humanity. This is the fundamental difference between the parliaments and legislative assemblies of the nineteenth century, and the states-general and diets of the fifteenth.

This is the great victory gained by the human mind, of which the philosophy and the press of the eighteenth and nineteenth century have not a little to boast,—that man is conscious of his dignity, as the representative of humanity and of reason; that he has ceased to consider his own value only in the light of an Athenian *ἀσπες*, civis Romanus, nobleman, or merchant; but that, whatever he may be, his greatest pride is, to be a useful member of his country, to be a worthy partner in the civilization and humanity of his century.

The question in what way the people shall manage the *administration* and *jurisdiction* is still more open to discussion.

It is a common error, that democracy demands absolutely a republic, and that monarchy is irreconcilable with democratical institutions. If by monarchy is understood the divine right of monarchy, or monarchy "by the grace of God," as the Germans call it, of course nothing can be more opposed to democratical principles; for this monarchy is the despotism of the "Holy Alliance;" but if the management of certain administrative powers by an emperor, king, or queen, either elected by the people, or hereditary with the full consent of the people, is called monarchy, such a monarchy is consistent with democracy, if not in its purest form, still with its spirit.

It would lead us too far from our purpose to enter

upon all the different opinions which are held by democrats, upon the way in which the administrative body ought to be constituted : we will only point out that there exist differences, whether this body is to be elected directly by the whole people, or indirectly by representatives of the people, and how far the superior officers of administration shall have the power to choose their sub-officers and assistants ; then whether there shall be placed at the head of the whole administration one *responsible president* or a *directorium*. All these questions can be answered in a different way in different states, without an essential difference in their democratical character. The constitution of a people is but the coat in which the social body is dressed, its form is not only dependent upon the state of education and enlightenment in the different classes of society, but upon certain opinions, and perhaps prejudices, which a people may have gained in the course of their history, and by their geographical position. Certainly there is a model, which ought to be the end and aim of all constitutions ; but, even if all nations have agreed what this model is, the ways in which it is to be realised can and must be different.

Since the great French Revolution, since the time that the world became conscious of the essence of democracy, and proclaimed it as the political form in which true humanity and civilization must appear, many unsuccessful attempts at democracy have been made, in France, Germany, and other countries of Europe. We have already mentioned, that the political influence of Russia was one great obstacle in the way of the democrats ; but we should give too much honour to that barbarous power, if we believed that its influence alone was capable of counteracting the efforts of all the people of the Continent. What is the reason that the influence of Russia is so great, or that she has any influence at all upon the internal life of the European nations ? If only one great nation of the Continent were thoroughly convinced that democracy is its only fit political condition,

and this nation had agreed upon the form of democracy which is best to adopt, Russia would either have no influence at all upon this nation, or would be obliged to influence it by force of arms. Democracy on the continent has not to fear so much its external as its internal enemies. These internal enemies are in different countries very different; here it is the low state of education amongst the lower classes, there it is the selfishness, and the want of courage of the "bourgeoisie;" there again it is the false theories which are mixed up with democracy, or a misunderstood notion of patriotism, or centralization. Of all these different causes, which have prevented hitherto the success of democracy in Europe, ignorance of the true character of democracy is the greatest, because the source of all the rest. Democracy wants a thoroughly educated people. When we said, that the idea of democracy is based on the *dignity of man*, it is necessary that all members of the people should be conscious of this dignity, and that they act in accordance with this consciousness. The so-called lower-classes can only vote freely and independently when they know what they vote for, and when they are no longer obliged to depend for this knowledge either on the explanation of an employer or of a demagogue. An abstract equality of education, of course, will never be possible; there will always be higher-educated and lower-educated, but there ought never to be a class of society which is not educated at all. Education must not be the privilege of certain orders, but the common good of a civilized nation. One of the first demands which the democrats in Germany raised was, therefore, that education should not only be to a certain degree compulsory, but a public and gratuitous institution, and that the expenses should be paid out of the common treasury of the state or community. Certainly this demand was not less just, and manifested no less an insight into the character of democracy, than the proceeding of democrats of a higher education, to go amongst the workmen, to teach them the doctrine of the dignity of man, and to tell them

that education was the surest way to form lasting democratic institutions. "If you want to be raised in the political and social scale to an equality with the other orders, you ought to raise yourselves to an equality of civilization;" thus the working classes were harangued, and men of fifty years sat down in the established evening lessons, to complete their neglected education, to learn grammar, geography, history, and natural philosophy. It was a grand sight this, and showed not a little, an energy seldom to be met with in the higher classes; that men, after they had worked from five or six o'clock in the morning till seven or eight in the evening, spent the few hours of leisure and recreation in the dry study of grammar and orthography.*

Another conquest which the civilization of modern times has made, is the opinion, that labour, far from being disgraceful, is an honour, for it is the activity and labour of man by which he has subjugated nature, and shows himself in reality the crown of creation. By the assistance of the wonderful inventions of our age, which take the hardest and most mechanical work from the shoulders of man, and leave to him more the direction, the surveyance of material forces, labour no longer oppresses his intellect with its weight, or hardens his heart, but refreshes his body, and keeps his energy vigorous. Thus labour makes of a man no longer a beast of burden, who works and suffers that the higher classes may have leisure for the enjoyments of mind and heart, as Aristotle thought; it no longer enslaves him, but leaves him leisure enough to partake in all the higher thoughts and feelings of mankind.

Nothing has more contributed to raise the fourth order, as it is sometimes called, in the social scale, than the splendid researches which science has made into the

* The Section I. of the statutes of the Mechanics' Institution (Arbeiter Verein) at Rostock, says, "The Institution (Verein) aims at the political and literary education, which is necessary for the realization of civil liberty and equality, and by means of it at the intellectual, moral, and material well-being of its members."

mysterious powers of nature, and the great inventions, which are the result of these researches. The sombre spirit of the middle ages, with its contempt for nature and the material world, was unable to promote the study of natural philosophy. When the prejudices about an ungodly nature were broken, when man commenced to admire in the material world God's creative power, and one of his chief revelations, then man, by finding God in nature, found a God in himself, and learnt that he ought to be worthy of this God; then, and no sooner, he came to the true understanding of what Christianity means.

It is repeatedly said, by Englishmen and Germans, that only in the character of the Teutonic race is to be found the foundation of a true democratical government. The individuality which is so strong in their character is justly praised as the fundamental principle on which democracy or every free government must rest. The history of France has certainly created in that country, in an opposite direction to her sister-country, Germany, a centralization, not only of the government, but of the whole life and ideas of the Frenchman. If this centralization has prevented France from falling into small, petty states, and thus united the whole strength of the nation, which, moved by patriotism and glory, has produced such wonders in the world, it has been, on the other side, the cause why all attempts at a popular or democratical government have hitherto failed. France, geographically considered, is thoroughly monarchical, one compact consistent tract of land, governed in all her ideas by Paris. The history of the last century has shown, that such an organization of a country is irreconcilable with a free government, with democratical peace and prosperity. Democracy is the full development of the individual, in and by means of a union. There are two points: the individual, in his full and free development; and the union, whether it be called society or the state. In despotism, union is everything, the life of individuals is centralized in one individual,

the individual is lost in the state. It seems as if the individual exists only for the sake of the state. All despots have therefore striven to centralize the government and the life of the country in the capital and their own person. The French kings succeeded in those efforts more than others, and what the kings left undone Napoleon finished. Centralization is thus, in France, the product of her history ; the struggles of the parliaments and of the Huguenots, as well as the earlier history of France, show that individual character was here as strong as elsewhere, and that it is only her geographical position, and her other historical conditions, that have created a centralisation, which has been the cause of all her external glory, and her internal misfortune and struggles. Nothing is more unjust, and shows more ignorance about the principles of democracy, than to point to France, and to contend, that because here all the attempts at a democracy have failed, democracy is not capable of living, at least in our times. Democracy and centralization are two opposite and irreconcilable ideas. In democracy the development of the individual is everything, in centralization the state is everything. Democracy is rather a society of free and independent individuals, than a state ; it is a "contrat social." In democracy the divine reason, as pronounced by the eternal laws of equity and justice, is developed by the individual himself, out of his own bosom ; whilst despotism imposes the laws, in the name of this divine reason, upon the individual. As long as France does not understand this truth, France will never see a real lasting democracy ; all attempts at uniting democracy with her centralization, will and must fail in future, as they have failed before. Why is England, in spite of her aristocracy, the freest and wealthiest country in Europe ? Because it has the least centralization, and because the individual is here least prevented from developing his abilities and his reason. The Germans have, in Europe, the reputation of being theorists, and an unpractical people, but the first thing they demanded,

and tried to establish or to develop, in 1848, was the self-government of the smaller communities,—villages, towns, and provinces,—the “*Gemeindeordnung*.” Self-government commences at home, the state must not be an all-devouring Moloch; but as individuals freely unite into the community of a village, or a town, so the villages and towns must freely unite into the community of the state. The dissolution of the state into society was a doctrine which some democrats shouted into the ears of the people. The people understood this phrase practically; they called it the union of free societies into a state.*

If we cannot quite agree with those who attribute an innate ability for self-government and democracy to the Teutonic race exclusively—for the independent spirit of Spanish and Italian towns and provinces is quite as strong as that of the English and German—it is not to be denied that the Teutonic countries alone have yet produced a true self-government, or are partly in the right direction to do so.

The division of Germany into such a number of petty states certainly tears asunder the national strength, which is wanted in the political scale of European affairs; but it is at the same time the surest guarantee that Germany in future will be a democracy; it is the next step to it. Political circumstances may more easily rid Germany of the enemies of her national unity and strength, than they will break up in France this fatal centralization, and convince the mind of the French nation, that before all they need *emancipation from Paris*, and the self-government in their villages and towns.† The Germans have only to change a po-

* Englishmen are justly jealous about nothing so much as about the independence of their communities; the strong opposition against the police-measures, proposed by government, gave latterly a sufficient proof of it.

† Louis Napoleon, before he was emperor, said in his “*Opinions on various political and administrative questions*,” “Thus, instead of endeavouring to introduce into France the aristocratic constitution of England, it would be better, were our statesmen to adopt

litical coat, which they long since knew as too tight, and wholly unfit for them. The French need a change of their convictions, a thing the most difficult to get. With all their revolutions, and all their bustle about "democratie sociale," the French are much farther off from the true character of democracy than the Germans. The latter, in their high national education, and their stronger individualism, expressed in their half-independent communities, have all the preparations ready, and need only to wait for events. The French, when the events come, are unprepared as before; and as the Germans formerly looked to France for the commencement of these events, so the French will have to look to Germany for convictions.

There are persons who fear that the free development of the individual will lead to a "bellum omnium contra omnes," to the dissolution of all order and society. They think, far from allowing the development of the individual, that the state exists and is necessary to put a check upon the individual. The state represents with them the divine reason, to which the individual has to submit in silent obedience. If we consider the individual as this collection of errors and passions, certainly it would be madness to contend, that such free individuals would form a society or state; on the contrary, every union of these individuals would be impossible. But what we contend for, as that on which all the ideas of self-government, public opinion, reign of majority, are based is, that the true character of men is good, reasonable, divine.

History has laboured for thousands of years to clear this his true character from all the crimes, errors, and passions, which darken its brightness. Christianity has shown man his true nature, and the civilization of our

from British institutions those which protect individual liberty, which encourage the spirit of association, and develop a spirit of legality. It would be well also, if they were to borrow from Germany its system of public education, and of *municipal* and military organization."

times has taught him, that that which he looked for without was really *within* himself. Every individual is gifted with a divine reason; by a long education of thousands of years, this reason has become so strong in man, that on the whole, it has become master of his passions. There are still, in our times, individuals who do not participate in this strength of reason in man, which we generally call civilization; but the great demand of the present time is, that civilization must embrace all men, all classes, all countries. What is it that connects civilized individuals together, without any external force, into a society, but *reason*! Have we not seen in our days, and do we not see daily, that when hundreds of individuals from Europe go to the backwoods of America, or to the gold-fields of Australia, where no law can reach them, no gensd'arme or constable can catch them, that they live together peaceably, and that if any scoundrel should be amongst them, he will soon be turned out or brought to reason.

Brought to reason! The very phrase of the language shows that reason is the law which governs; that reason is the tie which connects individuals into a society, society to states. In a given century, and in a given country, the development of reason, and its government, is of nearly equal level amongst those who are called educated persons; and even the non-educated are so much infected by the surrounding civilization, that if their degree of reason is lower, it is in general far higher than that of the uneducated a century ago.

When in our days appeals are made to public opinion in a country, or to the opinion of the civilized world, so and so many millions of individuals are considered as united into one great court of judges, whose law is reason,—reason so far as it is developed in the present state of civilization. Is not such an appeal, made so often by emperors, princes, and governments, in its very principle thoroughly democratical? Where is the divine right of the monarchy, if this very monarchy expects the sanction of its actions from public opinion?

Does not monarchy represent itself in such appeals as a delegate of the people? Such is the power of the spirit of democracy, that the most despotic monarchs have bent unconsciously to it!—

The United States started into existence with the declaration, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." This was but a repetition of that doctrine, which Christ taught to mankind more than seventeen centuries ago. Alas, the Christians had forgotten the chief lessons of their Great Teacher! The wealthy and the powerful pointed the oppressed, the suffering, to heaven; in heaven the poor slaves were told, you shall be free and equal to us; suffer our cruelties patiently, they are the trials for which you will be rewarded hereafter. Into such language were wrested the words of the Prince of love.

More than seventeen centuries had elapsed, before a state dared to build its constitution upon the first dogma of Christianity; and oh, the inconsistency of human affairs! this same great state upholds slavery, and has a fugitive slave law in the nineteenth century.

The French Revolution repeated, "All men are born free, and with equal rights," and when the armies of France marched through Europe with the words liberty and equality on their standards, the princes, the nobles liberated their serfs, and slavery was declared a shame for Christianity and civilization.

It is the singular fate of all great ideas, that they are most liable to misunderstanding, that they seem the most hollow. Equality! can there be any equality amongst men, who are so different in all external and internal qualities? The idea of equality is a beautiful dream of the philanthropists, but can it ever be a reality?

The American declaration proclaims, that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The sixth article of the French "Rights of man" define more clearly this equality: "The law is the expression of the will of all men. All citizens have

a right to take part, either personally or by deputies, in stating this will. The law must be equal for all, whether it be protecting or punishing. As all the citizens are equal before the law, the way to all dignities, employments, and public offices, must be equally open to all, according to their ability, and without any other regard than to their virtues and talents." The revolutions of 1848 went a step farther in carrying out these principles, "Nobility, as an order, is abolished," and "All titles, as far as they are not connected with an office, were abolished, never to be introduced again;" so says Article II. of the fundamental rights of the German people. (*Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes*) sanctioned at Frankfort, the 12th April, 1849: "Titles of nobility, distinction by birth, by division of classes and casts, are abolished for ever," proclaims the Tenth Article of the French Constitution of 1848.

Thus there remained only two inequalities amongst men, that of character and abilities, and that of property. If character and ability can to a certain degree be influenced by education, nobody will contend, that this inequality amongst men will ever entirely disappear; on the contrary, an equality in those qualities would be a misfortune for human society, which only exists by the different labours of different abilities and powers. The higher we go in our researches into the kingdoms of nature, the more difference we see amongst their species. To bring all members of human society down to an equal level, if it were possible, would extinguish the spirit of men, the characteristic genius of human-kind. But education can equalize to a certain degree the internal man as well in his moral as in his mental faculties; and this equality, which rather develops his native difference than abolishes it, is justly aimed at by the humane legislation of our days. "For instruction in national schools (*Volkschulen*) and in the lower industrial schools no money is to be paid." "Those who have no means (*Unbemittelten*.) shall have gratuitous instruction in all public educational institutions," says

Art. VI. of the fundamental rights of the German people, and the exertions lately made in the English parliament to establish a national education, show that this idea of equality, for a long time so strange to the ears of the English people, has gained ground in this refuge of aristocracy, and will not rest till it is realized.

The French communist Cabet reasons thus:* "As for us the more we study history, the more we are profoundly convinced, that inequality is the primitive cause (*la cause génératrice*) of misery, and opulence of all the vices which come from both, of cupidity, ambition, jealousy, and hatred, of disorders and struggles of all kind, in one word, of all the evils by which individuals and nations are overwhelmed." It certainly does not require much study to find out, that if all men were alike rich, misery and opulence would not be possible; and that if they were alike able, ambition, jealousy, and hatred, would have lost their principal source. M. Cabet draws the conclusion, "But if we seriously and ardently dive into the question, to know how society could be democratically organized, that is to say, upon the basis of equality and fraternity, we must acknowledge that this organization demands and entails necessarily the community of property (*la communauté des biens*.")

Every statesman, however aristocratic he may be, will own without hesitation, that it must be the aim of every society and state, to spread wealth as much as possible over all classes, to further a general prosperity among all; and perhaps he will not object even to the demand, that society and the state shall *aim at* an equality of prosperity amongst all their members. The great legislators of all ages have tried to realize this aim. Moses instituted the Jubilee as a solution of this question.† Landed property was to be equally divided after every fifty years. Lycurgus introduced another kind of com-

* Voyage en Icarie, Préface.

† Leviticus, chap. xxv.; Exodus, chap. xxiii. v. 10 and 11; Deut. chap. xv.

munity. ' The *leges agrariæ* of Rome had also a communistic tendency. The first Christian communities established amongst themselves the Cabetistic community of property. The demands of the peasants in the peasant wars (*Bauernkriege*) of Germany, at the times of the Reformation, were not much less communistic than the reign of Johann von Leyden and Knipperdolling at Münster. The Jesuits tamed the savages of Paraguay in South America by means of communistic colonies. Thus communism has appeared in all ages, down to the colonies of Owen on the banks of the Clyde, and of the colonies of the Icariens in North America. As mentioned before, it has been the steady companion of democratic extravagances. At all times when the mind of man is excited by the transition into a new era, communism has raised its head from the first Christians down to Babeuf, Fourier and Cabet. It has lived like a fair dream in the head of many a great poet or thinker.* Nowhere has it won a lasting reign, but has disappeared with the excitement of the moment. It is only the egoism of men, the selfishness of those who are in possession, which has driven communism again and again back into the regions of unpractical phantasms, or is communism in reality a principle irreconcilable with the fundamental laws of human society; is communism really the last consequence of democracy, as the communists will make us believe?

We defined democracy as the free development of the individual in society or state. In a democracy the accent lies on the individual; the individual must have free room for displaying all his abilities, for exercising all his powers. We showed that a society and a state can exist where the individual has this power, yes, that it does exist. The ability and power of the individual make themselves felt in society, by the influence they have upon

* See Plato's Republic, Thomas More's Utopia, Bacon's Nova Atlantis, Campanella's Civitas Solis, and Monarchia Messiae, Harrington's Oceana, Fénelon's Talente, Voyage dans l'île des Plaisirs, etc.

other individuals, and upon the material world. This influence, intellectual and material, is the realization of his individuality in the outward world, it is his *property*. *Property* is in its widest signification the individual as he appears, as he makes himself felt in the outward world. The common notion of property is the influence or the reign of the individual over the material world; but in the strictest sense, the intellectual influence he has and the esteem in which he is held, belong also to his property. Can now property be equal as long as the individuals are so different, as long as their abilities will make themselves felt with so different a power, and in so different ways? No, egoism is not a principle which ought to be abolished altogether, but only restricted by reason; egoism on the contrary, is the seed of every thing good and great in the world; true egoism sees that in order to promote its own happiness it has to promote the happiness of all. Communism abolishes the individual; whilst killing a bad egoism, it kills egoism altogether,—it kills the source of human greatness and prosperity. Communism becomes thus the greatest tyranny, it changes human society into a cabinet of automata.* Despotism never goes so far as to restrict man in his household, as to prescribe for him what to eat and what to drink. Communism descends into the family-parlour, prescribes the amount of furniture, it enters the kitchen and orders the number of dishes.† In a word, the most intolerable tyranny of a despot is freedom in comparison with communism.

* The State (*la Pæatrie*) says Babœuf, "must take (*prendre*) the citizen at his birth, and must only leave him at his death."

† In the communistic colonies of Owen (New Harmony) all men were dressed alike, and so were all women. The meals were taken in common. In 1827, there were above thirty communistic colonies in the United States, founded on the system of Owen.—See also the "*Phalanstère*" of Fourier.

VII. A CHAPTER OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY.

THE sufferings which a war naturally brings over the country that happens to be the chief theatre of its battles, roused at last, in 1813, the Germans out of the indifference with which they had viewed the conquerors of their princes. But it was not physical hardships alone that were sufficient to make them sensible of the humiliation of the French yoke, and to produce that patriotic enthusiasm, which before was scarcely known in Germany, except perhaps in the Prussia of the great Frederick. So deeply was liberalism already rooted in public opinion, that to drive out the French conquerors the princes were obliged to resort to the same means, which these had applied against them—to fight them with their own weapons.

The political history of the last centuries was not fit to rouse any patriotic feeling in the heart of the German, with the exception only of Prussia, where patriotism was rather exclusively Prussian and un-German. The popular recollections in Germany were but those of internal dissensions and external humiliation. The name of the empire of Germany was still alive till 1806, but Germany herself had long since ceased to be a political reality; she has led but an ideal existence in the glory of her science and art since the time of Leibnitz, Kepler, Kant, Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, etc. What the thirty-years' war had left of the glorious empire of the Hohenstaufen the seven-years' war destroyed. There existed in reality some 500 states, most of them consisting of a few villages, which were often more hostile to each other than to France or Russia, and which had no other bond than a common language. Two ideas only were able to rouse this people out of their unpatriotic

apathy—Liberty and Unity. Two promises therefore were to be made.

The march of the French Republicans was everywhere marked by the establishment of Republics, and afterwards when Napoleon changed these creations of Republican France into monarchies, he gave them, or caused to be given, constitutions, which overthrew entirely the old feudal world. Under his auspices the equality of all citizens before the law was established in the kingdom of Westphalia, serfdom and all industrial monopolies were suppressed, all abuses of feudalism disappeared, the civil codes, and the publicity of trials by jury, in criminal cases, were introduced. In Bavaria, king Maximilian, the faithful servant of Napoleon, gives a constitution, which securing the liberties of the people, abolishes all feudal privileges in 1808. In the same year the influence of the French Emperor effects in the grand duchies of Baden and of Berg, as well as in Erfurt, Fulda, Hanau and Bayreuth, the abolition of serfdom, compulsory labour and seignorial rights. To the same influence Saxony owed her constitution of 1806, which included liberty of conscience.

The Prussian Statesmen, Stein, Schoen, Hardenberg, saw, that without similar concessions the people would not care whether they were ruled and oppressed by the Hohenzollern or by French generals; they understood that liberalism alone could rouse the feelings of patriotism, and lay the foundation of a regenerated Prussia and a regenerated Germany. The fatal battle of Jena had shown that there was something rotten in the state of Prussia. Any, not too short-sighted politician could easily detect, that the ruin of Prussia was the fruit of despotism, which had adopted the absolutism of the great Frederick without his genius.

Her humiliating condition after that fatal battle, drove Prussia into the most splendid part of her political career.

In 1808, the "Staedteordnung" was issued, which gives self-government to the towns; 1811, "Leibeigen-

schaft (serfage) abolished," and the "Abloesungsordre" given to create the material independence of the former serfs. In the "edict" about the finances of 1810, it was said, "..... as We reserve to ourselves to give to our nation a usefully organised representation (zweckmaessigeingerichtete Repraesentation) as well for the provinces as for the *whole of the kingdom*, whose council We shall willingly make use of, and through whom We according to our fatherly feelings (landerväterlichen Gesinnungen) shall always give to our faithful subjects the conviction—that the condition of the country and the finances are improving, and that the sacrifices which are made for that purpose are not in vain. Thus the bond of love and confidence between us and our faithful people will become always closer." In the "edict" of 1811, the king pronounced that the will of free men is the unshakeable pillar of every "throne."

If such words, uttered from an absolute throne, sound beautifully in the ears of men, the effect is somewhat weakened, when we bear in mind, that the territory of this throne was reduced by the Peace of Tilsit (9th July, 1806) from 5,952 German square miles to 2,793 German square miles, and was nearly wholly erased from the face of Europe; that under the influence of Napoleon the same liberties had been already granted in neighbouring states; and that Frederick William III., had just experienced, that the alliance with Russia did not spare him the loss of more than half his kingdom. However guided the king then was by such men as Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, we may suppose that these concessions at that time were made in sincerity. But opinions, if ever so sincere, which are created in the time of danger, are easily overthrown by convictions and inclinations, which are the tardy fruits of education and position—as soon as the danger is over.

"The independence and honour of the people are only secured, if every son of the fatherland shares in the combat for freedom and honour. My cause is the cause of my people," said Frederick William, in the

proclamation of 17th March, 1813, when he raised the standard of independence from the French yoke. The nation crowded to the battalions to fight, as it was thought the battles of freedom. Boys of fourteen years rushed from the school-benches to the battle-field.* The most abstract philosopher Germany ever created, thundered in Berlin against the invaders; the highest pitch of enthusiasm reigned everywhere for freedom and national independence. Prussia, from the brink of destruction, rose at once to the leadership of Germany, her courageous warriors were foremost in the great battles of European independence.

The abettors of absolutism do not cease to tell the people, that the greatness of Prussia is the result of the wisdom of the Hohenzollern and their absolute government; but they forget that the battle of Jena and the Peace of Tilsit are also a result of that wisdom, and that absolutism, and that the Prussia of to-day owes her greatness, nay, her very existence, to the liberalism of 1807-15, caused indirectly by Napoleon, and to the valour, the genius, and patriotic enthusiasm of her people.

The Art. 13, of the "Bundesacte" (the fundamental law of the German confederation) prescribes that, "In all the states of the confederation a constitution (eine landstaendische Verfassung) shall be established." Before this "Bundesacte" was promulgated, the king of Prussia had already on the 22nd May, 1815, issued a law, of which section 1 runs, "a representation of the people is to be established," the section 4, "the office, (Wirksamkeit) of the representatives of the country embraces deliberation about all the objects of legislation, which regard personal rights and the rights of property, taxation included." The assembly of the commission which was to prepare the execution of this law,

* In several of the "Gymnasia" in Berlin marble-plates are to be seen with the names of those pupils, who have died, as it is called "Fuer Gott, Koenig and Vaterland" in the battle-field of Leipzig, Gross-Beeren, Ligny, Waterloo, etc.

was fixed for the 1st September of the same year. The final promulgation of this law, promised already in an "edict" of 1810,—a law which raised Prussia into the ranks of constitutional monarchies, at least "de jure," appeared in those very days, when Europe trembled once more before the re-appearance of the French giant, who had left Elba, had landed in France on the 1st of March, and triumphantly re-entering Paris seemed once more to shake the thrones of Europe.

When the battle of Waterloo was over, when Napoleon was at St. Helena, when Peace and the "Holy Alliance" was established, when the despots of Europe had taken up courage, the commission for preparing the execution of the law of the 22nd May, did not assemble at Berlin on the 1st September, 1815, and the law of the 22nd May, 1815, remained unexecuted.

Two ideas, we said, moved the heart of the Germans to their struggle against the foreign yoke—national independence and national unity. In their enthusiasm for these two ideas they neglected the guarantees of constitutional freedom. In the heat of the struggle against the French yoke, nobody thought of preventing any return to their former oppressions. Home affairs were forgotten in the battle against foreign enemies. The Prussian history was the history of the continent. When the thunder of the battles had ceased, when the French armies had left the foreign countries, when Napoleon was an exile at St. Helena, when then the nations of Europe were at leisure to think about their home affairs, then they found out that they had only spilt their blood for the independence of their despots; nay, that they had only changed the liberal master of the West for the barbarous despot of the East. Then royal promises were left unfulfilled, laws remained unexecuted, concessions were withdrawn, and constitutions overturned. Was the change for the better?

VIII. THE SINS OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE.

THE people of Europe have read with disgust the hypocritical bombast addressed to his people by the Emperor Nicholas. But these phrases of holy religion and "holy war," are only destined "to rouse the languid fanaticism of a barbarous people. The Emperor Nicholas takes great care in speaking to civilized Europe. He is well aware that the eastern phraseology of barbarians sounds ridiculous to the ear of western civilization. Whatever lies he tells the civilized world, he has good sense enough not to dress them in the garment of religion and piety. When the three monarchs of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, formed in the capital of the civilized world the "Holy Alliance," on the 26th September, 1815, "In the name of the most Holy and Indivisible Trinity," it is scarcely to be comprehended whom they wanted to deceive,—themselves, their fellow-princes, or the nations of Europe. An Alliance, of which the march over Europe is designated by broken oaths, by overturned constitutions, re-introduced Jesuits, re-established inquisitions and torture, persecutions, executions, and a pitiless war against every thing which smacks of liberty, proclaimed, that "having in consequence of the great events which have marked the course of the three last years in Europe, and especially of the blessings which it has pleased Divine Providence to shower down upon those States, which place their confidence and their hope on it alone, acquired the intimate conviction of the necessity of founding the conduct to be observed by the powers in their reciprocal relations upon the sublime truths, which the holy religion of our Saviour teaches—they solemnly declare that the present act has no other object than to publish in the face of the whole world their fixed resolution, both in the

administration of their respective states, and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that holy religion, namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity and peace, which far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections. In consequence their Majesties have agreed on the following articles :—

“ Art. 1. Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance ; and regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated to protect religion, peace and justice.”

“ Art. 2. In consequence, the sole principle in force, whether between the said governments or between their subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable good will, the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider each other all as members of one and the same Christian nation, the three allied princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia ; thus confessing that the Christian world of which they and their people form a part, has in reality, no other sovereign than Him, to whom alone power really belongs ; because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, knowledge, and infinite wisdom, that is to say, God our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoy-

ing that peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties, which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind."

"Art. 3. All the powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that these truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belong to them, will be received with equal ardour and affection into this holy alliance.

"Done in Triplicate, and signed at Paris, the year of Grace, 1815, 26th of September."

FRANZ,
FRIEDRICH WILHELM,
ALEXANDER.

All monarchs were invited, except the Pope and Sultan. Of course all those princes of the Continent, whom the first rising of the storm of freedom had blown off their thrones, hastened to join an alliance, which they considered justly as an insurance of despotism. England alone did not like to join an alliance, the principles of which were laid down in so general and indefinite terms. Could the spirit of that league be misunderstood? Because the Scriptures command "all men to consider each other as brethren," therefore the three contracting monarchs will consider themselves as brethren, not that they will consider their subjects as brethren; these, on the contrary are their children, whom they of course govern at their pleasure, and whose duty it is to obey without grumbling, and without inquiring the reason of the command.

When the monarchs of Austria and Prussia returned from Paris, the "precepts of justice" did not command them to fulfil their engagements. In spite of the law of 22nd Sept., 1815; in spite of the edicts which in-

corporated the Rhenish provinces, Posen, Sachsen into the kingdom of Prussia,—edicts in which these provinces were promised to have their share in the constitution of the kingdom—in spite of the Article XIII. of the Bundesacte, the throne of Frederick William III., who is called the Just (*der Gerechte*) remained absolute. Neither thought the Emperor Francis of Austria of executing the command of the Bundesacte. But the spirit of freedom which had risen against the foreign yoke, was not inclined to submit so easily to home oppression. The people had seen, and many had even tasted the first fruits of a constitution which proclaimed the dignity of man. It was especially in the universities, where the students, returned from the battle-field, and covered with wounds, and the “*eiserne Kreuz*,” (iron cross of valour) were not disposed to part with all those ideas of freedom and unity which the monarchs themselves had aroused in the hour of danger, and the execution of which the learned warriors thought they had fully deserved. From the Rhine Professor Goerres made his powerful voice heard; it was for Germany a time of anxious expectation and excitement. This condition of Germany could not fail to arouse the fear of Russia, which kept everywhere her “*Kotzebues*,” to watch the ideas of the German people, and to report the result of their espionage to St. Petersburg. When the monarchs were assembled in the Congress of Aix la Chapelle, the Russian counsellor of state, Stourdza, a Wallachian boyard, presented a document, which the Emperor of Russia distributed amongst all the princes of Germany. This memorable document said, that Divine Providence had availed itself of the campaign of 1812, in Russia, to bring back mankind, lost in dreadful corruption, to the true faith and condition by the influence of Russia. But a new danger threatened the holy cause of the monarchs, viz., the revolutionary spirit in Germany in the heart of Europe. The anxious longing for new constitutions, by which the power, which God had given to princes, should be reduced to nothing; the

abuses of the press, which was treated with too much indulgence, and the spirit of the universities, it was said, were the unmistakable forebodings of corruption. We do not know, how far the rulers of Germany wanted this Russian exhortation; but it is certain, that this Russian view of things was the leading principle in the conferences of Karlsbad (in Bohemia). Prince Metternich, who presided in these memorable conferences, declared that *the danger which would arise from the establishment of a representation of the people, had not been so clear before the eyes of the governments in 1815*. Constitutions which were founded on an election by the people *were in open contradiction with the spirit of the "Bund,"* such as it was established by the "Bundesacte;" and though this "Bundesacte" commanded, that all members of the Bund were to introduce "Landständische Verfassungen," Count Bernstorff and Prince Metternich interpreted this article, that "Landständische Verfassungen (constitutions with states-general) did not mean "representative-constitutions," that they, on the contrary, excluded them. By such miserable jesuitism, the leading statesmen of Germany tried to explain away concessions which were made in the hour of danger. One interpretation was impossible; Article XVIII. of the Bundesacte declared openly, that the freedom of the press should everywhere reign in Germany; the diplomatists of Karlsbad re-established the "censure."

However in some states the constitutions given could not be withdrawn directly. When king William of Wirtemberg made an attempt at governing in a true constitutional spirit, when he had even the courage to declare that he "blessed the day" on which the constitution was established by the free agreement of Prince and people, the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, recalled their ambassadors from Stuttgart, and threatened king William with still severer proceedings if he continued his constitutional policy. Less pressure was wanted to reduce to the admirer of Lola Montez, king Ludwig of Bavaria, to obedience to the resolutions

of Karlsbad, or to convince the Duke of Sachen-Weimar, the Mæcenas of Germany, that freedom of the press was out of the question within the sway of the "Holy Alliance."

How strange it sounds when the Prince Regent of England says in a "rescript" to the Hannoverian diet, that "Amongst all the renovations borrowed from foreign nations, there is none so hurtful to the quiet and practical course of the debates of the states, as the publicity of the sessions." The "Bund" wholly powerless, when there was the question about a real improvement in the material interests of Germany—such as the abolition of the custom-barriers between the states—manifested an astonishing vigour in oppressing every germ of liberalism against the Princes as well as against the people. But even these mock constitutions of the smaller states were too hateful in the eyes of the cabinets of St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin. The infamous "Secret Protocol" of the 12th July, 1834, of the "Secret Vienna Conferences," ordered the princes of the constitutional states to allow the diets "no influence upon the course of their governments," and not to let the soldiers swear upon the constitutions, but to aim at (hinzuwirken) abolishing them.

It was principally from the Rhenish provinces * that Frederick William III. of Prussia, was reminded of the law of 22nd May, 1815. "Neither in the edicts of 22nd May, 1815, nor in the Article XIII. of the Bundesacte, the time is fixed, when the constitution shall be established (wann die landstaendische Verfassung eintreten soll). Not every time is the right one for introducing a change into the condition of the state (Staatsverfassung). He who reminds the king, (Landesherrn), who gave these assurances out of his entirely free resolution, of them, doubts criminally (freventlich) the inviolability of his promise (Zusage), and encroaches upon his judgment as

* In a memorial of the town-council of Cologne, 12th Sept. 1817, in a petition of the town of Coblenz, and of the town-council of Cleve, etc.

to which time is the right one for introducing that constitution, which must be as free as his first resolution was, etc. That representation (of the town of Coblenz) can only excite my just displeasure. I shall decide what time the promise of a constitution shall be fulfilled, and shall not allow myself, by untimely representations, to hurry too much in the right progress to that end. It is the duty of subjects to confide in my free resolution, by which that assurance is given, and which caused the said Article of the "Bundesacte," to await the moment, which I, guided by the oversight of the whole (von der Uebersicht des Ganzen geleitet) shall find fit for its fulfilment." This was the answer, which the angry king gave, on the 21st of March, 1818, to the address of the town of Coblenz. Nearly three years had elapsed since the law of the 22nd of May; how could any subject have a criminal doubt in the inviolability of his promise! Since this answer twenty-two years have elapsed. On the 7th of June, 1840, Frederick William III., the Just, (der Gerechte), died; the law of the 22nd of May, 1815, was not executed; Prussia was still an absolute monarchy. How could any subject have a criminal doubt in the inviolability of a royal promise! But perhaps no moment was, during the whole twenty-five years, fit for the fulfilment of the promise, and the law was given in anticipation of future centuries. But what kind of constitution could this Prussian people expect from a king who gave such an answer! And how would the spirit, which dictated that answer, have agreed with the spirit of a constitutional monarchy! In 1823, the king had established provincial diets (Provinciallandtage), which were only allowed to discuss, under the surveyance of a royal commissioner, matters of local interest, and to lay their decision as "petitions" humbly before the throne of his majesty."

The Swiss Cantons had requested Napoleon to give them a constitution, which was adapted to the peculiarity of their country and to the spirit of liberalism.

Napoleon gave the "Mediations-acte" of 1803, under which Switzerland in the midst of a stormy world, enjoyed eleven years of peace and prosperity. When the Austrian army under Bubna returned from France, and stayed in the neighbourhood of Bâle, Switzerland was commanded to abolish the "Mediations-acte," and to accept a constitution, which was created under the influence of the Russian Ambassador Capodistrias and the Austrian Lebzeltern. Some Cantons refused to obey; but the menaces of the "Holy Alliance," supported by the army which entered the Swiss territory, soon compelled them to accept a constitution which was a continual source of all the internal struggles which troubled Switzerland up to 1848, in which year the Swiss succeeded in altering that constitution in spite of the threatenings of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.*

King Ferdinand VII. of Spain, a worthy member of the "Holy Alliance," hastened to rid himself of the constitution of the Cortes of 1815, to prosecute every one who had lent his assistance to the former government, and for the better effect of his Christian designs to re-call the Jesuits, and to re-establish Inquisition and torture. The consequence of these proceedings was naturally an insurrection. General Quiroga and Colonel

* We were greatly astonished to see in a leader of the *Times* (Thursday, August 24,) statements respecting Swiss history, which we certainly did not expect from that generally so well-informed journal. That "the Switzerland of those times, that ancient confederation of the middle ages," was destroyed by a purely democratic and republican government." Mr. Saunders, against whom that leader is directed, could easily object that this Switzerland was entirely in the hands of a few privileged families, who possessed all the political power and oppressed the people as much as any despot in Europe could do. The towns were entirely at the mercy of these aristocrats, and the "Landshaft" (country) had no political right at all, except in the most bigotted and ignorant "Urcantons" where the catholic clergy had the people in their hands. This Switzerland the French Republicans destroyed; and as the Swiss could not agree upon a constitution, they received at their own request the "Mediations-acte of 1803," out of the hands of Napo-

Riego proclaimed the Cortes constitution, and compelled the king to sanction it. But the "Holy Alliance" had no pity for such things as constitutions. A congress was in 1822 held at Verona, and France was charged with the execution of its decision. The Duke of Angoulême entered Spain with a French army, the king with the Cortes was besieged in Cadiz. Cadiz was taken, the king dissolved the Cortes and re-established despotism. What were the consequences? A glance at the history of Spain since this time and her present condition will give the answer.

The example of General Quiroga was followed in Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont.

Colonel Sepulveda in Oporto proclaims the Spanish constitution of 1812, the king swears to it, but alters it the next year (1822.) Don Miguel, the favourite of Rome and the "Holy Alliance," abolishes this constitution, March, 1823. Don Pedro gives a new constitution, but the pupil of Rome cannot do with constitutions. What Don Pedro had built up, Don Miguel pulls down in 1827. Executions and confiscations are the companions of his Christian acts.

In the year 1820, king Ferdinand of Naples, was by a military revolution under General Pepe compelled to grant a constitution after the pattern of the Spanish. The three heads of the "Holy Alliance," frightened by

leon. This Mediations-act was so dear to them, that only the threatenings of the "Holy Alliance" and their armies, could induce poor Switzerland to part with it. When the *Times* says "the Switzerland of the present day, dates from 1814," this journal forgets that the Switzerland "reconstituted under the auspices and guarantee" of the great European powers, has been changed not only in her territorial arrangements by the division of the Canton "Basel," in consequence of bloody struggles, but that the whole Swiss constitution has been changed in spite of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and the Pope, in the year 1848, as well as that all the oligarchical governments of the Cantons, re-established by the great European powers in 1814, have been altered almost everywhere, often not without bloodshed, and that therefore the Switzerland of the present day, is widely different from that Switzerland as the great powers re-constituted it.

these constitutional desires of the nations, assemble in person in Trappau, (1820,) and Laibach, (1821.) King Ferdinand is invited to appear and to abolish the constitution which he had sworn. As he himself had promised to go to Laybach only in order to maintain the constitution, and as the whole country is under arms under the guidance of his son, to whom he had trusted the government, an Austrian army is despatched to Naples, and despotism re-established; the despotism of a Spanish Bourbon! And the Austrian soldiery is obliged to support for several years the tyranny of Ferdinand.

The same service the Austrian troops performed under Bubna in Piedmont, where a military insurrection had also proclaimed the Spanish constitution. There too Austrian troops had to strengthen the re-installed despotism by an occupation of several years.

To crown the work of re-action, Pope Pius VII., when he returned to Rome, under the "ægis" of the "Holy Alliance," hastened to re-institute the Jesuits, whom another successor of St. Peter had anathematized.

We need not mention the attempt of Charles X. of France and its failure, or the misfortune of the patriotic Poles in 1830. But it is, perhaps, not so well known that the Russians in this struggle crossed the Vistula by pontoons given by Prussia, and that Prussia delivered to the hungry Russian troops provisions, whilst a part of the Polish army which had crossed the Prussian frontiers was immediately disarmed by Prussia and given up to Russia. This same service was done to the Russians by the Austrians, who disarmed immediately a corps of the Polish General Dwernicki, that had entered the Austrian territory for strategical reasons. If Russia speaks about thankfulness, she ought not to forget these facts.

Such is a short glance at the reign of the "Holy Alliance" in Europe, until the year 1831.

The question could be put, why the same "Holy

Alliance," which persecuted with such unrelenting rigour all the revolutionary movements in Europe, showed so much enthusiasm for the freedom of Greece? Was it moved by a mere æsthetical feeling for the classical soil of Homer? The answer is easy. The revolutionary plans of the Greeks agreed with the schemes of Russia; the independence of Greece weakened Turkey, and this independent Greece was to be a focus of Russian influence and intrigues—for Russia is the head and the soul of the "Holy Alliance."

But where was the influence of constitutional England in Europe all this time?

It is true Sir Charles Stuart protested at Trappau against any intervention in the affairs of Naples, but the following year he was more pliant. At Laybach he protested only against any territorial aggrandizement of Austria in Italy; but had no objection to an intervention for the purpose of overturning the constitution, sworn by the king, and defended by the king's own son and all the people.

During the Polish revolution of 1830-31, Austria, which began to feel uneasy about the proximity of Russia, proposed to the government of France a re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland in concert with England. Count Walewski was charged to sound the dispositions of the English government. He received the following answer from Lord Palmerston:—

"The undersigned, etc., in answer to a note which the ambassador of France has presented to him, in order to engage the British government to an intervention in concert with France in the affairs of Poland, by a mediation which should have the aim to stop the effusion of blood, and to procure to Poland a political and national existence,

"Has the honour to inform H. E. the Prince Talleyrand, that in spite of the great desire which the King of Great Britain would have to concur with the King of the French, in every step which might consolidate peace in Europe, especially in that which would effect the

end of the war of extermination, of which Poland is the theatre to-day, H. M. sees himself compelled to declare,

“That an officious mediation in the actual condition of events would certainly be refused by Russia, so much the more as the cabinet of St. Petersburg has just refused offers of that kind made by France, that in consequence the intervention of the two courts would have to be supported in case of refusal, in order to be effective.

“The King of England believes he is by no means obliged to adopt the latter alternative. The influence which the war can have upon the tranquillity of the other states is not such a one, that it must necessitate such steps, and *the frank and friendly relations which exist between the court of St. Petersburg, and H. M. do not permit him to undertake them.* H. B. M. sees himself therefore compelled to decline the proposition, which H. E. Prince Talleyrand has just transmitted through the note of 20th June, thinking that the time has not yet come to be able to undertake it with success against the will of a sovereign whose rights were incontestable.”

* * * * *

Signed, PALMERSTON.”

IX. THE FAILURE OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

THE reactionary party have given themselves infinite trouble to represent the revolutions of Milan, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Munich, as mere imitations of the February revolution. Just as the people of the continent use to look at Paris for the cut of their coats, these revolutions or revolts, as they call them, which have cost hundreds of human lives, are said to be but a matter of mere fashion. The nations were so satisfied, they lived so securely, so prosperously under the paternal regimen of the "Holy Alliance," that they did not think of revolutions when these wicked Parisians aroused Europe out of its happy sleep. Can any one who has but superficially glanced at the history of the continent since the downfall of Napoleon, who has beheld all these deceived hopes, these broken constitutions, unfulfilled promises, violated oaths, these military insurrections, Carbonari conspiracies, "Burschen-Verbindungen" persecutions of writers, confiscations of books, oppressions of newspapers, depositions of Professors, these intrigues of Jesuits and Russian agents, these Galician slaughters, and that Silisian famine; we say, can any one who has witnessed all these things in the different countries of the continent, believe for one moment that the people were extremely satisfied, that the revolutions in the capitals of Europe were but created by "Poles, Frenchmen and Jews,"* in imitation of Paris? It would lead us too far for our purpose to paint only in Prussia, a country which is said to have had the least reason for a revolution, the increasing dissatisfaction from year to year, especially since the reign of the present king. Some few incidents, however, may give an idea of the

* The professed opinion of the "Kreuz Zeitung" at Berlin.

state of public feeling in that country. The good people of Prussia did not forget the law of the 22nd of May, 1815, or those fine phrases so abundantly spent in the hour of danger; but they were too kind-hearted to trouble the last days of an old king, who had gone through so many reverses. We will wait, they thought, till his son Frederick William IV. comes to the throne; then we will remind him, that he, as the heir of his father, has inherited the duty of paying his debts to the nation.

When Frederick William IV. according to the usage, was crowned at Königsberg in 1840, the town-council alluded in submissive words to the royal promises of 1815, "You will lose my grace," shouted the angry king, and turned his back on the deputation. "Sire," answered the burgomaster, "we ask for our right, not for your grace." The provincial diets,* established by the late king, were held in secret, nothing of their transactions were allowed to be published, notwithstanding it was whispered throughout the kingdom, that the diets of the Rhenish provinces of Posen and Silesia, had demanded the final fulfilment of the law of 22nd May, 1815, and that the king had answered in a tone which showed that anger and passion had over-stepped the limits of royal dignity. The persecutions against the universities by the hated minister Eichhorn; the attempt against the independence of the judges; a famine in a part of the most fruitful province, unknown to the government before it had already killed whole villages; the incorporation of Cracow into Austria, which damaged the trade of Silesia by more than a million of thalers a year, could not be counteracted by such half concessions as the publicity of trials, though without a jury, or by the establishment of a "Obercensur-gericht."† The anxiety with which the prohibited writings of Schön

* These diets were composed of the most conservative elements, such as great landed proprietors, great commercial men and burgomasters of the larger towns.

† A commission of high functionaries to which an Author could appeal against the "crossing over" of a censor.

(minister of state with Stein), of Jacoby, Simon, and other liberals were swallowed by the people, manifested to every imperial eye the approaching storm. At last the king saw himself compelled to do something to appease the public excitement. The "Patent" of the 3rd February, 1847, was issued. The Provincial Diets sent their deputies to the "United Diet" (Vereinigten Landtag) at Berlin. Frederick William IV. was, as usual on such occasions, very eloquent. "As heir of an unimpaired crown which I must and will preserve unimpaired for my successors, I know that I am entirely free from every obligation in regard to that which is not yet executed (gegen Nichtausgeführtes,) especially, that from the execution of which his truly paternal feeling has kept back my august predecessor." "But I have preserved for me the especial right, without those lawful occasions, to call together this great assembly, whenever I consider it as good and useful; and I shall do it willingly and oftener, if this diet give me the proof that I can do it, without violating higher monarchical duties." "It urges me to the solemn declaration, *that no power on earth shall succeed in compelling me to change the natural relation between Prince and people, which with us creates so much power by its internal truth, into a conventional, constitutional one; and that I never will allow (nun and nimmermehr,) to intrude a written leaf of paper between our Lord and God in heaven and this country,* like a second Providence, in order to govern us with its paragraphs, and to replace by them the old and holy fidelity." Such were the words with which the king opened the "United Diet," on the 11th April, 1847. To talk too much is one of the weaknesses of this monarch. On the 18th of March, 1848, a very, very small portion of the power on earth, the inhabitants of one town, succeeded in compelling him to change the natural relation between Prince and people into a conventional, constitutional one—the written leaf of paper intruded. Kings should never tell be-

fore what they will do, or what they never will do, if they are not expressly obliged to do so; bad enough for them that they are often compelled to enter into future engagements by a "political oath." Frederick William mistook greatly his age; his phraseology would have worked well four centuries ago; but in the age of material interests and "material guarantees," far from exciting submissive admiration, it afforded but a rich harvest to the wit and irony of the people. No king, indeed, has been in Germany so much the object of incessant caricature and blasphemy, as the "Spree-Romantiker."

The eyes of the people of the continent were directed towards Paris. The Holy Alliance had long since succeeded in changing the hatred towards the French, which naturally animated the Germans during the so-called "Freiheitskriege" into sympathy. The hatred was now directed towards the East. Russia was justly acknowledged as the head of the Holy Alliance, as the head quarters of despotism. Her influence, especially in Germany, worked not only in secret intrigues, but was openly manifested by incessant demands to restrict the freedom of the German universities, by her denunciations of everything which indicated a spirit of liberalism. The intimate friendship of Nicholas with his father-in-law, king Frederick William III. entailed by no means a friendship between their two countries.

The Italians had never hated the French; the "Tedeschi," popery, and the king "Bomba," were the objects of their antipathy; the Spanish Peninsula also had forgotten its days of Saragossa. Continental Europe, dissatisfied and oppressed, waited for France. Every word spoken in the "Chambre de Députés" was listened to with the greatest anxiety; and Louis Blanc has certainly, as far as politics go, the right to say, "ce Paris, cœur et cerveau du monde." From France was expected the rise of the storm. Can we commence the struggle against despotism, said the liberals in Germany, whilst Paris is tranquil; will not

our own legions, if necessary, assisted by a hundred thousand Cossacks, pour down upon us at once, and crush the first germ of freedom? And where shall we commence, in Vienna, Berlin, Col6gn, K6enigsberg, Dresden, 6r Frankfort? We are too decentralized. A revolution in Vienna will be but a revolution in Vienna and nowhere else; and Berlin in arms will see Frankfort, Dresden, or Munich, quiet and looking on. But a revolution in Paris means a revolution in France, and a revolution in France will be a revolution in Rome, Milan, Vienna, Berlin. The centralization of France, the cause of all her internal misfortune, made her the heart and brain of political Europe. The "July-days" of 1830, in Paris, were the author of the 26th of August in Brussels; of the 29th of November in Warsaw, they created the insurrections of Modena, Parma, Sicily, and the State of the Pope; they even taught the king of Saxony, the elector of Hessen-Cassel, and the Duke of Brunswick, that they cannot always rely on the wonted patience of German subjects.

The general opinion in Europe was, that Louis Philippe would manage to keep himself on the throne to the end of his days, but that his death would be the signal for a universal stir. All popular demands were deferred to this moment. When the reform banquets commenced in 1848, Europe listened in feverish anxiety. The throne of the bourgeois king was burnt, and the Republic proclaimed once more. The effects in Italy and Germany are well known.

But why did a revolution fail which was so long prepared in the public opinion of Europe, and justified by the proceedings of the "Holy Alliance" and the sway of barbarous Russia?

We speak here especially about the revolutions in France, Italy, and Germany. One object was, perhaps, common in these three countries, which we might call "freedom;" but what practical shape this general idea had to assume, in that the three countries were naturally different.

France possessed already a constitution, the purpose of the revolution was here but to liberalize more this constitution, and perhaps to destroy a throne, the aim of which was constantly to counteract the popular influence, and to approach as nearly as possible to an absolute government. We say, perhaps, for the different political and social parties had here more than elsewhere a different object. In one point the February revolution was no failure, France did rid herself of a perfidious government, which tried to neutralize the constitutional liberties, and betrayed the honour of France, by cringing before the Muscovite and the "Holy Alliance." It was often remarked before 1848, not without reason, that the Cossacks govern on the banks of the Seine. We will not compare the internal liberties of France under the reign of Napoleon the Third, with those under Louis Philippe; but one thing is certain, France has assumed a place amongst the powers of Europe which she had lost with the downfall of Napoleon I., and if she has no liberal government, she has at least a patriotic one. Louis Philippe's government was neither liberal nor patriotic.* Thus the effect of the February revolution is the detachment of France from the sway of St. Petersburg. As the French democrats did not understand how to keep the government in their own hands, they ought to consider, that the glorious union of England and France, and their united resistance against the sway of a barbarous power, the iron hand which they themselves have so often felt, would scarcely have taken place under a Louis Philippe.

Our age is the age of material interests. A high-minded people can fill itself with enthusiasm for theoretical doctrines for a short time, it can even make ma-

* Louis Philippe hastened to announce his accession to the throne to the Emperor Nicholas in a letter, in which he said, "It is upon you, Sir, that France has above all fixed her eyes. She likes to see in Russia her most natural and most powerful ally." The Emperor Nicholas answered in menaces, and did not use the address. "Monsieur mon frère," which is common amongst reigning princes.

terial sacrifices for them, but it will always return to the sober calculation of the £ s. d., for it is conscious that material prosperity entails freedom at the end ; and nothing is truer than the word of a statesman, that in order to govern a people, it must be kept half hungry.

The "bourgeois" is indeed the representative of materialism, as the nobleman is the representative of romanticism. The "bourgeois" has been often alike attacked by the nobles and by the democrats. They call him narrow-minded, narrow-hearted, bare of every higher flight of mind than the mere calculation of money. This may be true to a certain degree, for he is as far from this romantic view of the superiority of blood, as he is from the enthusiasm of the half-educated lower classes. But the barrier which is erected by some between him and the working man is as untrue as mischievous. The interest of the "bourgeois" well understood is the interest of the working man : America shows this practically, where this division which has done so much harm in the old world, and has hitherto alone prevented the lasting success of liberalism, seems to be altogether unknown. The basis on which the existence of these two classes rests, is industry and commerce, the great promoters of civilization. The "bourgeois" not only supplies the capital, but he had supplied hitherto the higher intellectual labour, whilst the working man undertook the more manual labour. The "bourgeois" is as well a working man, and his work is certainly the most difficult. There must be always these two labours. But another question is, whether the present distribution of them is the natural state of things, and will, as such, always continue ; or whether another organization shall take place as soon as the now so-called working classes have advanced in education, and have come to a true understanding of the natural laws of commerce and industry. This question can be solved not at once by realizing any theory, but by the slow and sure advance of commerce and industry itself, and by the alteration which this advance

will entail in all their conditions. Whether or not the theoretical discussion of that which is called the "social question," will assist in promoting this great object, the decided answer can only be given by the practical development of those conditions.

It seems to us that the misunderstanding which has existed about this "social question," and which still exists here and there, is the principal cause of the failure of the revolution of 1848 and 1849. The material interests, which rightly understood, are inseparable from the higher destiny of man, are in our age at war with all the remnants of romanticism, handed down to us from the middle ages. The head of this romanticism is despotism. He who will get a true idea of this romantic nature of despotism, should read the treaty of the "Holy Alliance," or one of the speeches of king Frederick William IV. of Prussia, a prince who has the merit of bringing the romanticism of despotism to its clearest expression. Let us listen to what he said to the assembled nobles of the kingdom, who had come to take the oath of allegiance, 15th October, 1840.

"It was formerly the custom that the states of German countries did not take the oath of allegiance, till they had obtained the homage guarantees (the guarantee of their rights and privileges.) I will "quasi" join this custom. Yet I know and acknowledge willingly that I have got my crown from God alone, and that it becomes me well to say: Woe to him who touches it! but I know also, and acknowledge it before all of you, that I wear my crown as a fief of the Most High Lord, and that I owe him account of every day and of every hour of my government. He who demands a guarantee for the future, to him I give these words. A better guarantee neither I can give nor any man on earth. It weighs heavier and lies more strongly than all the coronation oaths, than all the assurances laid down on brass and parchment, for it streams from life and is rooted in faith.".....

England and America, where materialism reigns the

most, are the freest and the wealthiest countries, and where the poetical ruins of a romantical knighthood have given way to the tall chimney of materialism in Germany, a prosperous activity has taken the place of a dreaming laziness.

The failure of the revolutions is caused by the division in the camp of materialism. The "bourgeois" and the workman instead of uniting in the common struggle against despotism and aristocracy, look upon each other with suspicion and fear; and landed property, which by its nature should side with industry and commerce, fancies its interests opposed to them, and increases the camp of the common enemy.

The "bourgeois" demands from any government nothing but the security of his property, and not to disturb his industrial and commercial enterprises. When he saw that democracy was interpreted as communism, that communists and socialists descended into the streets to attack his property, from this moment his democratic sympathies ceased, and he was ready to throw himself into the arms of every government which defended his property. Such was the case in France: the dreadful days of June created the dictatorship of Cavaignac, which was only changed by that of Louis Napoleon.

The revolutions of Italy and Germany had a more complicated object. In Italy the question of liberalism was inseparably connected with national independence and national unity. The delivery from a foreign yoke was the object which was first to be achieved, the overthrow of the native tyrants and the establishment of liberalism was to follow. But Austrian and French armies were, as in former days, too strong for the patriots of divided Italy. Whether Italy, once free from foreign yoke, could have succeeded in her other objects or not, we dare not to decide. The difficulty of the Italian patriots as well as the German lies in the fact, that unity and liberalism cannot exist the one without the other. The Republican party wish to

establish a union of republics as in America or Switzerland; for this purpose the monarchies must be changed into republics. If Italy were free from foreign tyranny, nothing could be easier than to turn out "re Bomba" and the petty monarchs of middle Italy; but Piedmont is the obstacle. The hostility shown by Italian Republicans towards that country is natural, although unjust. The government of Turin, with its liberal rule, seems to have succeeded in detaching the Piedmontese from a united Italian republic; a liberal king is always a misfortune for the prospects of a republic.

The best thing would be for the Italian republicans to leave Piedmont alone, or receive it cordially into the alliance so far as a constitutional kingdom can join a unity of republics, till the spirit of republicanism shall sooner or later be strong enough in this kingdom to complete the number of the united republics of Italy. Much more complicated is the question in Germany. Germany has not to fight against a foreign yoke, she has all her enemies within; but they are the more dangerous as they seem to be natives, but are in reality foreign to the interests and nationality of the German people. There, as in Italy, freedom is inseparable from unity. That indeed is the general conviction of every German. Unity of Germany was the "pathos" of the enthusiasm of 1813 to 1815; unity of Germany was the cry in 1848, and the black-red-golden standard of old imperial Germany, became the standard of "freedom." In Germany it was no fear for communism which strengthened the camp of absolutism. Although the Germans have the fame of being unpractical, and prone to theoretical speculations, these very speculations are too deep with them, not to manifest the hollowness of communism, and its discrepancy with individual freedom. The German "bourgeois" did not fear the establishment of a constitution which destroyed property; but on the other side he was not quite sure, whether a democratical or republican government would have power enough to maintain security and order. The few

extravagances in the capitals,—but which never went so far as to attack private property,—which are inevitable in a time of general excitement, and the still stand of trade in such a time made him tired of a state of uncertainty, and created an apathy against that freedom and liberalism for which he himself had taken up arms a few months ago.

It ought to be the chief care of every revolutionary government to establish, as soon as possible, security and order for everything which concerns material interests, and to finish the state of uncertainty as to commercial and financial matters. When we look back to the state of Germany in 1848-9, we can hardly understand how quiet and patriotic the people were in this general political confusion. There was a parliament elected by all the people of Germany at Frankfort; this parliament, representing the will and sovereignty of forty millions of Germans, was to be the highest legislative power in the country. It was to give laws to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia. But what means had this assembly of four hundred citizens of enforcing these laws from monarchs, who had no idea of constitutionalism but powerful armies? They could only appeal to the patriotism of the people, that is to say, to a patriotic insurrection against those princes, who did not obey the commands of Frankfort. The “*assemblée nationale*” of France had, in 1851 at least, a parliamentary army, and a general to command this army, in defending the “*assemblée*.” The Frankfort parliament had neither an army nor a general. Besides this parliament every petty state had its own parliament, and discussed the same political questions, and settled them sometimes, before they were discussed at Frankfort. The democrats who acknowledged Frankfort as the highest authority, saw soon, that not only the princes intrigued against Frankfort, and tried to disobey its commands, but that also the parliaments of the states were often in discrepancy with the representatives of Germany. The Frankfort parliament took refuge in a

prince of the imperial house,* to give to its commands a greater weight with the princes by his imperial name; but this prince was not equal to his position, even if he had the will. When things began to look dangerous he ran away, and buried himself again in the Alps of Styria, with his postmaster's daughter. It was clear, that the parliament without an army could not stand the united power of the princes. Indeed, an impartial foreigner must admire the somewhat inconsiderate confidence the German people had in their princes, to expect that they would submit to an assembly of German citizens, with no other power than the moral sympathy of the German patriots, who themselves were neither organized nor armed. It is true, the "national guard," (*Bürgerwehr*), which was established, and afterwards sworn on the Frankfort constitution, was destined to form a kind of parliamentary army; but this "national guard," without any connection and general organization over Germany, of course became nothing but a kind of town-watch, or police-institution, turned against street riots, and republican clubs, and was besides, in most places, neither effectually organized and drilled, nor commanded by able men. The confusion of ideas which reigned in those days is not astonishing with a people who had no experience in revolution, and no opportunity for any self-organization in political affairs. The republicans were the most clear-sighted; they knew that it was an impossibility to effect a real unity of Germany with a German parliament, or the union of some thirty constitutional states under one constitutional government. As one constitutional government is founded on the balance of power, there would have been too much balance wanted to balance first the powers in each of the states, and to bring these thirty-seven states in balance with the central government, which also wants a balance of its parts. The illusion of the con-

* The Archduke John of Austria, who was elected by the parliament as "*Reichsverweser*," (Regent of the Empire.)

stitutional party was certainly wonderful. Can any one who has the slightest insight into a constitutional government doubt, that if Germany is to be united at all, this unity can only be effected, either by one single imperial government, with or without a constitution, or by a union of republics like America or Switzerland. As long as there are those thirty-three royal families, a unity of Germany will be but the fine dream of the German patriots.

King Frederick William IV. is reproached by the constitutional party for not having accepted the emperor's crown, offered to him by the Frankfort parliament, in spite of his declaration of the 19th of March, 1848, that he would put himself at the head of Germany. But can he be reproached for this refusal. Could he accept the crown without involving himself in a deadly struggle with Austria, and all the other princes of Germany, and with some foreign powers too; whilst he was not quite sure of the sympathies of the whole of the German people? Could he undertake this dangerous task for the sake of a crown, which was given him by the people on conditions, which a hitherto absolute monarch could not consider very favourable to imperial dignity?

Is it astonishing, that a revolution failed, the success of which depended on the solution of such complicated questions? The Frankfort parliament could be no "long parliament," without a power to enforce its commands; her commissioners were laughed at, and itself forsaken by the "Reichsverweser," and the greatest part of its members were driven from Frankfort, and dissolved at Stuttgart.

The constitutional party used to lay the failure of the revolution at the door of the democrats. They said, the democrats were too extravagant in their demands; but in reality the democrats demanded nothing which the constitutional party did not approve of in theory. All these doctrines, handed down from the American "declaration," and the French "rights of man," were the

creed of the democrats, as well as of those constitutionalists who had any political conviction at all. The constitutional party sacrificed their conviction in order to reconcile the absolutism of the "holy alliance" with democracy; they forgot that the devise of this alliance was the Emperor Nicholas' word, "*Je conçois bien la republique mais je ne conçois pas la constitution*," and they forgot that this very emperor stood behind the princes with some hundreds of thousands of cossacks. The English people, with their happy constitutional government, are but too prone to take the part of the constitutional party, and commonly overlook the fact, that the political situation of the continental states is entirely different; that in these states all the "matériel" is wanted, which forms in England, so happy a union of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. For instance, the English are almost horrified when they see the paragraph which goes through all the continental constitutions, that "Nobility, as an order, is abolished." Now this very paragraph was long since in actual existence. Nobility in the English sense has long since ceased to exist, as well in France as in the most states of Germany. The only "political right," if we dare call it so, left to a nobleman in Prussia, for instance, before 1848, was the situation of chamberlain, groom of the horses, master of the ceremonies, and other similar titles and employments about the person of the king. Nobility had become an empty title, before which nobody bowed any longer, except the tradesman of a provincial town, if this title was supported by a good purse. Political power was concentrated in the hands of the king; education was spread over the whole people; * wealth was more often to be found in the hands of commercial men; landed property was equally possessed by "*Bürgerliche*," (not noblemen). The democrat added to that

* It is a singular fact, that in Prussia all those public offices which demand the most knowledge, are filled with "*Bürgerliche*," as for instance, the highest courts of justice. Thus the artillery officers are almost all "*Bürgerliche*."

paragraph, that "the title of nobility is to be abolished." This addition, though perhaps not politic at the time, was the natural expression of the feelings of the people, who had no great respect for names, which, when they had ceased to be connected with highway robbery, became the most humble and most obedient supporters of despotism. This is the very reason why a house of lords, or a chamber of peers, is impossible in Germany, and why the King of Prussia saw himself compelled to take refuge in other elements, to make up a first chamber. Nobody, who has the slightest insight into the social condition of most of the continental states, can overlook this essential difference between them and England; where there is a real nobility with political power, immense wealth, and a glorious recollection of their merits in striving for the freedom and greatness of their country.

The democrats, on the contrary, reproached the constitutional party, for having, by their cowardice and vacillation, betrayed the cause of freedom. The constitutionalists followed no conviction, their maxim was to save as many liberties as possible; absolutism, of course, took advantage of their weakness, it conquered first, with their assistance, the democrats, and threw them aside as a worthless tool after this was done. The democrats were then only persecuted, the constitutionalist both persecuted and despised. In fact if the democrats could have been more moderate, and the constitutionalists more courageous, the result would have been the same, at least, in Germany. The members of the "holy alliance" did not want any constitution at all; and when they were compelled to yield to the popular storms of 1848, in the very moment they granted the liberties, they thought of the first opportunity to take them away again, and looked towards their protector at St. Petersburg. The streets of Berlin were almost still red from the blood of the 18th and 19th of March, when Frederick William IV. hinted to

a Polish deputation from Posen, that he would soon be able to change his situation, by the aid of the "colossus of St. Petersburg." And if the German princes were in reality inclined to a sincere constitution, a supposition which nobody will assume now, they were not allowed to be so. The failure of the revolution was, as we pointed out, the complication of the question of liberty and unity, and the suspicion between the "bourgeois" and the working-man; but the other great cause of this failure was *the neighbourhood of Russia*. It is the old European evil over and over again. Before liberalism could settle itself, everything and everyone that was bound by inclination or interest to despotism, after the first dread was over, crept out of their holes, and rallied around St. Petersburg. Those gallant knights of the "Kreuz Zeitung," who were nowhere to be found when the pale and tottering monarch was compelled to lift up his cap before the power of the people, raised first the standard of despotism, when they saw that the people were no jacobins, and had no guillotine, and that the freedom of the press was a reality. But they did not dare unfold the Russian flag as to-day; they intrigued under the "black and white banner" of Prussia, and tried, with the cross of 1813, to rouse hatred against France and freedom. The evil was, that since Frederick the Great, there had sprung up in Prussia a particular Prussian patriotism, the recollections of which were often in antagonism against Germany. In the first enthusiasm of 1848, the Prussians threw away the "black-white" cockade, and took the "black-red-golden" one of old Germany, "Prussia must be dissolved into Germany," was the word of the king, who meant perhaps, that Germany should be dissolved into Prussia. When the first excitement was over, and the "bourgeois" of Pommern or Brandenburg began to think how the unity of Germany should be accomplished, and what a part his dear Prussia would play in this unity, when he then perceived that the question was, either Prussia or Germany, he resumed his "black-

white" cockade, and became a member of the Preussen Verein.*

This particular Prussian patriotism, so strong in the most of the eastern provinces of the kingdom, connected with all the glorious recollections of the Great Elector and the Great Frederick, is a great obstacle in the way to German unity.

We can comprehend the failure of the revolution in two words. As every revolution by necessity entails a time of uncertainty, in which the condition of the countries have to be settled, the different parties have to agree upon one form, and as this uncertainty is always accompanied by a certain reaction, this reaction morally and materially assisted by Russia, will always get so strong as to overturn the gained liberties before these are settled and secured.

But every failure of a revolution is a victory of Russia, is for her a step further in the conquest of Europe. The failure of the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, have added more strength to the Czar than the acquisition of Turkey would have done; it has brought proud Austria to his feet, and has made him protector of the King of Prussia, and all the princes of Germany; it has secured him the possession of Denmark and the Sound in no distant time. Since 1849, the Czar Nicholas has been the real Philip in the despotical amphictyonic alliance of Europe.—Is there in reality no hope for freedom?

* A society which was founded by the same men who are to-day the well known leaders of the Russian party.

X. RUSSIA, AND THE STATE OF THE CONTINENT.

WHEN man got an insight into the nature of human affairs and their historical development, he saw that all progress in the world is caused by the struggle of antagonistic principles. Since this time the civilized world—for the possession of this insight is a particular sign of civilization—has divided itself into two camps, it rallies around two standards, progress and reaction, liberalism (or democracy) and despotism, materialism (in the better sense of the word) and romanticism.

Though this battle has been fought from the beginning of history, it is due to modern times, especially to the American war of Independence, the French revolution, and the present struggle of the Western powers against Russia, that man fights with full consciousness of the principles which are at stake, that he is no longer a blind tool in the hand of Providence. In this consciousness not only statesmen and philosophers partake, but the last private soldier sent to the east from England or France, is proud of his marching against the arch-fiend of freedom for the independence and civilization of Europe.

In the latter part of the middle ages it was materialism which first commenced the struggle for liberalism. The material interests of the towns drove them to defend themselves from the robberies of nobility. Every thing which was connected with commerce, industry, art, and law, assembled in the towns and cities; the high walls and deep ditches of the cities enclosed the whole of civilization; without these walls there were barbarism, ignorance, arbitrariness, but allied with those virtues of courage and valour, which spread a romantic hue over barbarism and inhumanity. Monarchy sided then with the towns and the material interests, and was constantly at war

with the insolence and lawlessness of the feudal-aristocracy ; it became in reality the protector of civilization, the promoter of art, science, and industry. But as in the Italian republics, the people gave themselves into the hands of the "podestà," to be protected against the eternal disturbers of peace, the nobles, and gained peace and security in exchange for liberty ; so when the commerce of the towns saw itself secure, their freedom was gone ; absolutism had established itself with its standing armies, and its uncontrolled taxation. However, it was a change for the better ; if the taxation was sometimes heavy, and much like robbery, it was at least regulated. Absolutism surrounded itself with the glory of art and science, and contributed not a little to the education of mankind. Every petty monarch liked to be called a Mæcenas. These merits of absolutism, which the fiercest democrat cannot deny, won for it a stronghold in the heart of the people of the continent ; and where, as is the case in Prussia, monarchy was represented by individuals, of whom many commanded the esteem of mankind, absolutism was at a certain period settled firmly by general consent,—the more so as it neither violated material interests, nor was in discrepancy with the ideal views of the people. This is the first period in the history of absolutism ; the second is less glorious. Monarchy, after it had subjugated feudal-aristocracy, forgot its former policy, and concluded an alliance with its former enemy. The nobility succeeded in persuading the monarch that his interest and theirs were the same, that they were his strongest supporters, the pillars of the throne. Monarchy thus lost its democratical character, it became nothing but the head of the aristocracy. Instead of uniting its idea with progress and civilization, the faithful companions of commerce and industry, it protected the remnants of feudalism, and preserved the obnoxious and mediæval privileges of the nobles. Under the shelter of the throne, the nobles continued, as in former times, to wage war against the development of civilization ; under the sanction of the monarch, and self-made laws,

they pursued their old policy, their contempt for industry and knowledge. It is this alliance of absolutism with the feudal aristocracy which has ruined the monarchy in most states of the continent.

To understand the present condition of most of the continental countries, we must comprehend these two periods in the history of absolutism. By this alliance in the second period the aristocracy carried its chivalrous spirit into the monarchy, and got hold of the standing armies. The legislation became but a benefit of the nobles. Material interests were neglected or mismanaged. It is true, some monarchs tried to detach themselves from the bonds of the nobles, and to return to the former policy of absolutism as Frederick the Great, Leopold, and Joseph II., but this was but transient.

This history of continental monarchy produced a state of things on the continent, entirely different from that of England. The English too often overlook this difference, they have an antipathy against every thing which is not exactly like England; they think that continental countries can only prosper under a constitution like that of England; but they forget that a constitution must grow out of the history and character of a people, as the English constitution has done, and that because the history of the continental nations has been so entirely different, their constitutions must be different too.

It is natural that a nobility, which at first were mostly robbers and lawless freebooters, and afterwards detached the monarchy from the interests of the people, should become an object of hatred, or at least should never possess that moral influence and esteem which the English aristocracy possess. Besides this, as the primogeniture is only in a few cases preserved, the nobility lost its wealth, and with it its material influence. Thus nobility has become politically extinct, and is reduced to intrigues to retain at least an influence over the prince, which they employ not only for the promotion of their

own, but also of foreign interests as the "Junkerpartei" at present in Berlin.

History has thus especially in Germany and France produced a social equality, which is not to be found in England. The liberal movements tend to equalize society more and more, and to abolish the last remnants of a hated and anti-national aristocracy, remnants which consist in scarcely more than the mere title. On the other side the nobility, on recollection of their former power and privileges, strive to regain them, and regain them by bringing the monarchy into their hands. Monarchy is but a tool in their hands,—but a necessary tool. This necessity drives their sympathies towards Russia, which they consider as the protector of monarchy, and therefore as the chief guardian of their own interests. It is not too much to say, that the whole nobility of Germany, with very few exceptions, is Russian to the back bone—not only because their leaders are covered with Russian stars and crosses, receive Russian pensions and diamond snuff boxes, because a great number of their sons are in Russian service; but because they consider Russia as the natural protector of absolutism, and absolutism as the natural protector of their privileges.

The present struggle has shown to Europe this sad truth, that all the great generals* of the Emperor Francis Joseph, are less Austrian than Russian; and we can affirm, that not only the generals but the great majority of all the officers of the Prussian army, down to the "second lieutenant," are also entirely Russian in their sympathies. The people on the contrary hate Russia; they know very well what fatal influence that power has exercised over the counsels of their government, that every oppression has originated in that quarter, that every persecution of liberalism was directed from St. Petersburg. It was a common saying amongst the people,

* The *Soldatenfreund*, the chief military journal of the Empire, is also thoroughly Russian.

“ We would rather have the French as enemies than the Russians as friends ;” and even the privates of the Prussian army manifested no desire at all to fraternize with the dirty Russian soldiers, when they were brought together for that purpose in the camp of Kalisch. Since 1848, the gap between the nobles and the people has become still greater. The nobility have become more Russian and the people more anti-Russian. The sympathies of the people were till 1851, entirely with France. Towards France the eyes of all the liberals were directed ; from France was expected the first check against the progressing despotism and aggression of Russia. England did not exist for the people of the continent. They knew well that there was living on an Island a wealthy people, with much individual liberty, a wide spread commerce and a large navy, but they knew also that the government of this people had always been in alliance with despotism, and had never shown any sympathies for the rising of those liberties abroad, which their people themselves enjoy at home. And as the general opinion was, that the English government was the real expression of the will of the English people, the English people themselves were considered as selfish, and led only by considerations for their own material profit.

Since 1851, the expectations from France have ceased. The vacillations of the political life of that country have at last convinced the nations of Europe, that with all their love of liberty and sympathies for the freedom of other countries, the French are wanting in that steadiness which alone can procure the foundation of lasting liberty. Since this time, England has begun to take the place of France. The sympathy which the people of England manifested for the cause of Hungary and the Hungarians, the severity with which the English press, even the most diplomatic part of it, chastizes the actions of continental despots, and above all the enthusiasm throughout England, for a war against the arch-fiend of freedom, have convinced the people of

the continent, that under the cool and restrained exterior of the Englishman, there beats still a heart for freedom and justice beyond the limits of his island; and that as far as the will of the English people goes, England should be that head-quarter of freedom and liberalism, which she has every right to be on account of the wealth and spirit of her people.

Wherever we look into the present struggle on the continent, society is divided into two camps of political principles and national sympathies. The princes, the nobility,* and a very small portion of the people whose present interests are connected with the former two, as in Germany, (especially the clergy, Protestant as well as Catholic,) are on the side of Russia; all the other classes as far as they have any opinion at all, are body and soul on the side of the Western powers. It is unnecessary to mention, that to the latter belong especially the commercial classes,† and above all, the young generation of intelligent mechanics; but also amongst the "Beamte" (government employés) in Germany, by far the largest number may be considered to belong to the national and liberal party. The proud Prussian "Beamte" perceives with indignation the humiliating and antinational

* The Austrian nobility took very little part in the new Austrian loan, as such a measure is contrary to their Russian sympathies.

† The present war has to a great extent contributed to avert the sympathies of the commercial world, principally in the seaport towns of the Baltic, as Stettin, Danzig, Elbing, from the Prussian government. Their principles of free-trade have long since attached them to the policy of England. It is known that the nearer the Russian frontier, the stronger is the hatred of the Prussian people towards Russia, which closes her frontier hermetically against any intercourse, not only commercial but even social with her neighbour. The sympathies of the Rhenish provinces for France till the year 1851, are known. On the 18th of March, 1848, a few hours before the outbreak of the Revolution, there was a deputation from Cologne before the king, demanding the final execution of the law of 22nd May, 1815, and stating that a negative answer would endanger the allegiance of the Rhenish provinces to the Prussian crown.

policy to which his country is condemned, in a struggle, in which that civilization is at stake, of which he considers himself one of the foremost representatives.

As far as regards the armies there is a decided difference between the Romanic nations and the Germanic. Whilst the armies of Spain, Portugal, Italy, have often been the first defenders of liberty, their generals have first raised the standard of constitution, as at present in Spain; the armies in the Germanic states are so attached to the person of the monarch, that they are but a too willing tool of his despotic plans and policy. The reason is that these armies are entirely in the hands of the nobility, and that the privates are animated by such an "esprit de corps," that as long as they wear the king's jacket, they consider themselves in opposition to the people, and are estranged to their interests. Especially is this the case in Austria and Prussia. The monarchs of Germany know but too well, that in most circumstances they can depend on the faithfulness of their soldiers.* We speak here about the standing armies; a difference may be found in Prussia with the "Landwehr," which forms as it is known the greatest part of the military strength of that kingdom. It is assuredly the uncertainty, whether the king of Prussia can rely on them, in the case of his joining Russia, that keeps him in this vacillation; the influence of the "Kreuz Zeitung" party would long since have driven him to an open alliance with Nicholas. Less to be depended on are the soldiers of the smaller states, in which the "esprit de corps," created generally by glorious recollections of past services to prince and country, are more or less wanting. It is not too much to say, that without Prussia and Austria, the princes of the smaller states would not be able to maintain their petty thrones for one day. The revolutions of Baden, Saxony, and Hessen-Cassel, have

* The only exception was formed by some Baden regiments, and some high military men in Hessen-Cassel in that disgraceful overturning of the Constitution of 1834.

given sufficient proof of it. The fear of the Prussians, who are considered as the policemen of Germany, alone retains for these princes a power, which they so often employ against their protector.

Russian sympathies of course are irreconcilable with constitutionalism. The constitutions find no admirers amongst the German nobility, with very few exceptions. The nobility know but too well, that a constitution brings the power into the hands of the middle classes, if not into that of public opinion; much more are they opposed to anything like an oath of the army sworn upon the constitution. This is for them a very horror to think of,—to make the generals and officers dependent upon a number of “talkers” and “scribblers.” They have even no inclination towards a “House of Lords:” first, because they see that such a “House” would hardly be possible in a country where wealth and education is so equally divided, and where nobility is but an empty title; secondly, because they are afraid of being too much thrown into the shade by the intelligence of an “Under House.” The more intelligent amongst them are almost all in the service of the government in the different parts of administration, and in the diplomatic career. The English people must know that under those conditions, in which the nobility in Germany and France exists, it is impossible to form a “House of Lords.” The king of Prussia was therefore obliged to take other elements into the “Upper Chamber,” high functionaries of the state, wealthy landed proprietors and industrial men; those whom he considered most willing to support what is called, “the prerogatives of the crown” against liberalism. These members are then of course elected by the king, and their dignity is not hereditary. It is but natural that such an “Upper Chamber,” is neither popular with the nobility nor with the people.

The feelings of the people towards a constitutional government on the other side, have undergone a great change in Germany, perhaps so in France. Before 1848

it was the general desire to possess a constitution, perhaps, like that of Belgium, with those alterations which the different conditions of the country require. The popular demands were in the spring of that year, above all, "liberty of the press and of assembly," (*freies Versammlungsrecht*), an "habeas corpus act," "trial by jury," and as a guarantee of the constitution and of these rights, "Volksbewaffnung," (national guard.) We do not remember that "general suffrage" was especially named in the days of March, but the "March-ministries" granted it, as it was too natural to the mind of an almost equally educated people. The people were kind-hearted enough to believe, that their princes, hitherto absolute, or but restricted by a sham-constitution, would be really constitutional. In their confident enthusiasm they forgot Frederick William IV.'s speech to the "united diet" a year ago, they forgot the "secret conferences of Vienna," they forgot also that there was a Russia at their door. The fate of the constitutions of 1848 and 1849 is known. Most of them, although sworn by the princes, have made room for the former absolutism; and where they are kept they have been changed at every period, when the fear of the people decreased and the confidence in Russia increased. What has become of the liberty of the press? what of that of assembly? where is the "habeas corpus act?" And wherever the trial by jury is not yet abolished, political offenders are brought before a special commission.

The king of Prussia expelled the parliament of 1848 by force of arms, and twice changed the constitution and the "electoral law," given by himself, till he got "a chamber" which did not dare to oppose him. The English correspondents from Berlin sometimes show confidence in the present constitutional life of Prussia; they seem to think that the present constitution will be further developed. The people of Prussia are of a different opinion. They know the feelings of the king about constitutions, they know also that the king is en-

tirely in the hands of the "Kreuz-Zeitung" party, a party which neglects no opportunity of manifesting its utter contempt for anything like a constitution. It is obvious to the people, that as soon as circumstances will allow, even that mock constitution, which now exists, will share the fate of so many others within the sway of the "holy alliance." The English correspondents ought not to be astonished that the nation shows little or no interest in the debates of the chambers, for neither do these assemblies express the public opinion of Prussia, nor will the fate of the country in any way be decided by their decisions.* The famous elector of Hesse-Cassel abolished even a constitution which was not too liberal in 1834, when it was given.

That which is left of the constitution is not executed. More than that, religious persecution has sprung up where it was unknown as in Prussia; the liberal sects are persecuted, whilst Jesuitism is favoured, or at least suffered.

Such is the reward of the people for their confidence in the faith of their princes! Is it to be wondered at that the German people, patient as they are, twice deceived, have at last given up the idea of reconciling their dynasties with popular liberty; that they have lost their faith in German constitutional governments; that they think, if we will have "liberty of the press and meeting," a "habeas corpus act," "trial by jury," freedom of religion," in short all those individual rights which exist in England under a monarchy, and which ought to exist in every civilized country, we must part with our kings, grand dukes, dukes, elector, and princes;†

* An exception is found in the manly speeches of Bethmann-Hollweg and von Vincke about the loan.

† We are at a loss to imagine how the writer of a leader in the *Times*, (Saturday, August 12,) could pen the following sentences:—"The people hate and despise their own courts for their submission to the intrigues of the Russian agents, but they know not how to free themselves from the calamity without incurring anarchy;" or "still in connexion with the sudden and tragical end of a royal personage (King of Saxony,) we may be permitted

and if we will keep our kings, grand dukes, dukes, elector and princes, we must resign "liberty of the press and meeting," habeas corpus," "trial by jury," "freedom of religion." It is a fatal alternative, but a true one. Germany divided, masked by the "Bund," protected by Russia, can only have either the one or the other. A really constitutional government with so and so many German princes, with an intriguing, anti-national and anti-liberal nobility, at the door of Russia is an impossibility. Cripple Russia in the Black Sea, cripple Russia in the Baltic, but leave her the neighbour of Germany, and keep those thirty princes on their thrones, and Russia will laugh at your exertions.

In March, 1848, there were but very few republicans in Germany; in 1849, the republican party embraced all

to wonder if the German people will not find some way to rid themselves of the incubus of Russian influence without having recourse to violence and tumult." Now, we would request this spirited writer, to point out to the German people the way in which they are to free their countrymen from Russian influence without turning out their lot of petty kings and princes, and how they could turn out some thirty of these without violence and tumult—as he must well know, that not only all members of the German "Bund," but Russia too, have pledged themselves to uphold their thrones. Or does he think that all those princes would run away as soon as the people declared they did not want them any longer. What does this author mean by "anarchy?" If a state is called "anarchy," in which there is no firmly established government, we should like to know how a country could turn out some thirty princes and dissolve their governments into one, without undergoing that state of "anarchy" for a certain time. And if he means by "anarchy," the violation of personal security and property, he ought to know that in the whole year 1848, there was not so much of this anarchy in Germany, as in the time of the last Parliamentary election in England. This same writer says also, "It may be true, that the Germans are not as yet fitted for the forms of Parliamentary government." We have, we believe, sufficiently pointed out why the Germans are not fitted and will never be fitted for such a kind of Parliamentary government as England has. It is really a pity that so many English cannot understand, that the same forms of government which are fitted for one people are not so for the other, and that an English parliament cannot be established in Germany.

the working classes, a great many of the "bourgeoisie," and counted even in higher circles some members. To-day there is no longer a constitutional party, or at least not one worth the name. The constitutionalists of 1848 have at last got the conviction, that there is no reconciliation possible between liberalism and Russia. With sorrow they have given up their favourite idea of the "balance of power," and turned republicans. English newspaper correspondents, who move in circles near the court, and read that which the newspapers are allowed to print, do not see the true state of affairs. They should go into the cafés, they should enter the provincial inns, and listen to that which is spoken, and guess that which is hinted at. Communism, with which the French "bourgeois" was frightened into despotism, has no terror for the German tradesman; he has learnt that republicanism and communism are two different things; that a republic can not only guarantee liberty, but protect order and property. Except a handful of journeymen tailors in Cologne, there are no communists in Germany.*

We mentioned before, that the question of liberalism in Germany as well as in Italy is inseparable from national unity. Since the great war against Napoleon, no period has brought the necessity of the unity more to the eye of the German than the present eastern question, no time has brought it clearer to the mind of Europe. Russia, the neighbour of an independent, united Germany, would never have ventured upon her present aggression in the east; and if she had been bold enough, England and France need not have sent their armies and their ships. Germany is the natural guardian of civilization and independence towards the east. Russia is

* A trial which the Saxon and Prussian governments got up with great ostentation in 1851, against a journeyman tailor from Cologne, who had visited the mechanics' institutions of northern Germany, only showed that he has been well treated with beer and tobacco, and sent away as soon as he developed his communistic ideas.

dangerous to Turkey and Europe, only because Germany is divided, and because her princes are Russian satraps. The diplomatists talk of "balance of power," and they have counteracted every effort the German people made at uniting their strength and gaining independence from Russia; and when even the king of Prussia made such trial at Erfurt, feeble enough as it was, he had no greater enemy than English statesmen—of course in alliance with Russia and Austria.

The "Kaiseridee" (the idea of an German Empire) has almost disappeared, but nobody thinks more of that inconsiderate attempt of uniting some thirty constitutional states with their princes under a constitutional Emperor. For who should be Emperor? Austria is too un-German in her character and institutions, too much affected by half barbarous countries; and Prussia has especially under this king entirely lost her "préstige" in Germany. Where is there in Germany any prince who is liberal-minded and courageous enough to undertake the dangerous task of ridding Germany in alliance with the nation from her anti-national royal families, and to establish one government liberal at home, strong and patriotic abroad? What is left? Either no unity at all, or horrible dictu to an English ear, *united republics*. The German mind has accustomed itself to this idea, that only in a republic there is independence, freedom and glory for the German people. The German princes have taught them this lesson ever since the French Revolution, we might say since the thirty-years' war; and they teach them this lesson still more to-day.

And no people is, perhaps, more prepared for a republic. Intelligent, industrious, of sober habits, with almost an equality of education, without great distinction of social orders, and accustomed to a kind of self-government in their municipal institutions, the foundation on which a great and prosperous republic could be erected is already there. Her divisions into so many different states, so fatal for her power and independence to-day, would be the surest foundation of her liberty, without

impairing when united by a democratical, central government, the power and glory of the nation abroad. They will have it! It is but a matter of time.

The condition of Italy is similar to that of Germany. National independence, national unity and liberal government, are here as in Germany, the great "Lebensfragen" (questions of life.) To get rid of the Austrian yoke is as much the national struggle now as in the time of Frederick Barbarossa; all classes are united in this purpose. The nobleman is as national, as patriotic as the peasant. It is true that there are in Italy different political parties, that especially the aristocracy of Lombardy does not entirely agree with Mazzini in his views about the future government of Italy; but whatever may be their differences in those questions, all parties agree in this point, that Italy ought to be freed from foreign yoke, and in some way united to maintain her independence. The means which Mazzini employs to gain this end are certainly not approved of by every one in Italy; but it is a mistake to think that there is any party in Italy who set their hope upon the diplomatists of the Great Powers, and who are not willing to take up arms for their independence as soon as there is the slightest chance for success. We ought scarcely to mention that the commencement of Italian liberty and independence will be the end of the papacy. It is known that popery and papal government is, perhaps, no where so much hated as in Rome itself, and that without the French bayonets the see of Peter would now have become almost a myth. For the only anti-national element in the country is the see of Rome and the bigotted Catholic clergy. The Pope is a vacillating character, entirely guided by the Cardinals, who know well that their very existence is owing to foreign influence, and who have much greater sympathy for Austrian and Russian despotism than for Italian liberty. The least Russian amongst the higher clergy in Rome is, perhaps, the Pope himself, who consults more his religious antipathies than political interests. Louis Napoleon reinstated

the Pope, because he wanted the support of the Catholic clergy for his Imperial schemes, and because he would not allow Italy to fall entirely under the sway of Austria. The French army is still at Rome; what part it will play, when by any successful revolution the Austrians are driven from the Italian soil and their influence no longer to be feared for France, we cannot conjecture. The kingdom of Italy is not yet entirely forgotten, and it would at least fulfil one desire of the Italian patriots, that of unity, without which there is no independence and liberty. The king "Bomba," is still haunted by the ghost of Murat, whose memory the present abominable tyranny has made dear to the Neapolitans.

The position of Piedmont in Italy we have already mentioned; she is the only state in which there is a patriotic government. If we glance at the constitutionalism of the continent, we see there are only Piedmont and Belgium which deserve the name of constitutional states. Piedmont, between France and Austrian Italy, can find anything like an independent existence only in a constitutional government, she is the soil in which the antagonistic interests of France and Austria uphold a liberal government, and in which the plans of a Carlo Alberto to unite Italy, under the House of Savoy, are, perhaps, still alive, and contribute essentially to the liberalism of the government, and to that opposition which it has shown to papal aggression.—When Leopold was called to the newly-created throne of Belgium, his position was extremely difficult. A Protestant king in a Catholic country, in which French is not only the language of the educated classes, but in which there is a not uninfluential party which desires annexation with France, he had no other chance than to be as liberal as possible; and above all, to observe strictly and sincerely those constitutional forms which constituted the conditions of his power. For in all the other countries of the continent, in which constitutionalism has been tried, the constitutions soon gave way

either to open or masked despotism,—a sufficient proof that constitutionalism is not congenial to the political and social soil of the continent,—that it is but an imitation of England, an imitation without blood, without immanent power of life, because it has not grown out of the historical and social soil of the countries.

The only republic of the continent, Switzerland, in the midst of powerful despotisms, and in spite of their manifold menaces and insinuations, has lived already more than five hundred years.

Louis Napoleon boasts of having closed the revolution in France. It is true that he has silenced that party-struggle, which before 1851, kept France in a state of continual excitement. But, on the other side, the excitement and uncertainty about the future, which reigned in France before the 2nd December, was to a great extent caused by the intrigues and schemes of the Prince-President himself. The vacillating character of France is difficult to understand; but we should say, that the present order established by the Emperor Napoleon, could have been also established by a government of moderate republicans, if the plans of the Prince-President had not prevented it from being firmly settled. Perhaps, this order would have been consistent with a greater amount of individual liberty. However, Louis Napoleon has succeeded in reconciling the feelings of the many, who were shocked by the violence and immorality of the coup d'état; and the political circumstances of Europe have greatly assisted him in this reconciliation.

We have already mentioned that the government of Louis Napoleon is a patriotic one. For the first time since Napoleon the Great, France has detached herself from the sway of the Holy Alliance, and has re-occupied that place amongst the powers of Europe, which she had lost by the restoration of the Bourbons. The French press boasts justly, that the hand of France is felt all over Europe, in Rome, Athens, Constantinople, on the Circassian coast, and in the Gulph of Bothnia and Finland. Thus what the French have lost of

liberty at home, they have won of glory abroad; it is the system of the first Napoleon over again; and the world knows how much the word "gloire" indemnifies the enthusiastic Gauls for so many privations and dangers. But it is not on "gloire" alone, that the third Napoleon has founded his empire. The French Socialists demanded that the working classes, "*la classe la plus nombreuse et la plus pauvre*," should at least have their due share in the government. They demanded this that they might be able to turn the power of the government to the material improvement of that class. Louis Napoleon's maxim is, "every thing for the working classes, nothing through them." Whether this maxim is a right one we shall not discuss; but no one can deny that the untiring exertions of the present Emperor of the French for the material welfare of the working classes have made these classes the surest pillars of his throne. If Louis Philippe's government is called the reign of the "*Bourgeoisie*," Louis Napoleon's government might be called the government of the working classes, with this difference, that the material welfare of the working classes is a benefit to the whole country, whilst the riches of bankers and stock-jobbers did not contribute to increase the wealth and industry of the nation at large.

There are still in France those old dynastic parties, but they have lost the hope of succeeding with their intrigues and their schemes under the sway of Louis Napoleon; they have postponed the execution of their plans for the moment, when his reign will cease, or his policy take a less popular course. Their intrigues, in spite of their "*fusion*," are powerless, their cause is the more hopeless, as it is closely connected with Russian influence and Russian support. The Bourbons must see, that only the Cossacks can bring them back to Paris, and that there is little hope for that, as these Cossacks are not even able to reach Constantinople. The moderate republicans, without giving up their hope for the future, have dropped that hostility, which naturally animated them

against the perpetrator of the 2nd December, and if they do not assemble around the standard of the empire, they at least have given over the war against a government, which has on the side of England undertaken the great combat for independence and civilization. The leaders of the Socialist parties are mostly disarmed by the care which the Emperor manifests for the interest of the "ouvriers."

The Court of Vienna has succeeded in changing the loyalty of Hungary into the strongest hostility, which is only oppressed but not extinguished by the Russian and Austrian armies. The enthusiasm with which the Hungarians supported their Queen Maria Theresa in her struggles with Frederick the Great, has given way to the most profound hatred amongst the influential classes, who but wait for an opportunity to throw off a yoke that has been so treacherously laid on them. We cannot help thinking, and the middle classes in German Austria are of the same opinion, that the powerful armaments in Hungary will serve more to keep down any attempt at a rising, which would perhaps find support in a neighbouring Turkish army, than to threaten the Russians. Austria excuses herself for not having entered the Principalities by the attitude of Prussia and Germany; but neither Prussia nor the minor states of the confederation could dare attack Austria if she entered the Principalities, or joined openly the Western Powers.

As everywhere else, there are in Hungary, and amongst the Hungarian refugees, parties which coincide in the desire of national independence, but differ in the form of government, which independent Hungary should assume. But the aristocratic party under Bathiany, who lately died at Paris, Kossuth with his followers, and the more radical Szemere are not so hostile, that they will not unite into one great national party when the day of action should arrive. The Slavonians in Hungary themselves, formerly so hostile to the Magyars, have learnt that this hostility was strong enough to do harm to the

Hungarians, but not sufficient to do any good to their own interests.

That "Poland is not lost yet" is the hope which keeps the vigorous national feelings alive in the divided territories of old Poland. In spite of so many slaughters and transportations—in spite of the artifice of educating the young Popish nobility in schools in the interior of Russia, and the many means of Russifying the country, the Poles are ready to encounter death for their independence as soon as there is the slightest hope for success. It is said that the Poles do not hate so much the Russians as the Germans. It is a natural fear, that the German civilization, with its sober, industrial town-life, may peaceably conquer that part of Poland which is under Prussia and Austria, as it has already done in West Preussen (in Prussia) and the West of Posen. We can understand that the Poles would even be willing to accept from the hands of the Emperor Nicholas a kind of independence, though they know well this act would be but a threat to Prussia and Austria, and that this independence would disappear as soon as circumstances are more favourable for Russia. We have in another place alluded to the difficulty which, by the re-establishment of Poland in any way, must arise between the Poles and the Germans, who inhabit territory formerly Polish, but these territories do not belong to Germany. To let loose the Poles on Germany, as it is called, would be more dangerous to Russia herself than to Prussia and Austria. As it could only take place in case these powers openly join the Western States, the Prussian armies released from the watch of the Rhenish provinces by the alliance with France, and sheltered on the Baltic coast by the united fleets, could easily cope with any attack in the East, and give assistance to Austria too, the more so as, by an anti-Russian policy the King has not so much to fear a rising of his own subjects. The King of Prussia, as he has too often done before, again shows himself utterly incapable of understanding his situation, and of taking advantage of

the opportunity of reconciling his people and playing a glorious part in the history of the present. It is certain, that in taking part with the West, he would see himself under the necessity of making liberal concessions to the people, or of changing this farce of a constitution, performed now in a back building, into a sincere and liberal action; but by this very change, combined with a declaration of war against Russia, he would almost abolish the republican party and gain the sympathies of the whole German people. He, on the contrary, could let loose the Poles on Russia, an act which would turn out a real advantage to Prussia herself. What Prussia would lose in Posen she would more than regain by the annexation of those surrounding states, which would be too willing to put their hated and despised petty despots on half-pay, as the two Mecklenburgs, the kingdom of Saxony,* the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel. It lies in the hand of Frederick William IV. again, by a sincere, liberal, and anti-Russian policy, to do immense service not only to Germany but to Europe. But this monarch has been born to ruin monarchy on the continent.

The Danish democrats, so zealous against the Schlesing-Holsteiners and Germans in 1848-49, begin to see that they have been the blind tools of Russia. They believed they were fighting for the integrity of the Danish Empire, and this very integrity has been converted by the statesmen of Europe into a not very distant annexation of the entire Danish monarchy to the Russian Empire. The King of Denmark is a man of rude manners, and no political capacity, despised by the people, a mere tool in the hands of his ministry, who are thoroughly Russian, and wait but for an opportunity of abolishing the inconvenient constitution. As in Denmark, the people in Sweden are heart and hand against Russia; the antipathy to the political principles of this

* The present King of Saxony, Johann, unites with a most bigoted, absolutistic, and overbearing character, an energy which is too well fitted to bring his Protestant country to a crisis. Russia also has gained in him an energetic supporter.

neighbouring country is still increased by the historical recollection, that it was principally this power which robbed the country of Gustavus Adolphus, not only of its best provinces, but of its position as a first-rate power. The Court of Stockholm, though affected with Russian sympathies, cannot venture to act against the so strongly expressed national feelings, especially of the middle classes of the people. The nobility here counts many a Russian friend amongst its members, but is in general more actuated by patriotic sentiments than in Germany.

When the present revolution in Spain broke out, the correspondent of an English newspaper wrote from Madrid, that a republic in that country was out of the question. Spain was certainly always considered as the most loyal and monarchical country in Europe; but the world must indeed be astonished at the untiring patience that unfortunate country exercises towards monarchy, and a monarchy which, since the death of Charles V., has always been the worst specimen of its kind. If we observe, that all things and circumstances of the present civilised world tend to abolish an institution which was well adapted to the childhood of mankind, we see that as far as personalities can contribute to this end, the future republican world will be especially indebted to the Spanish Bourbons. No royal family has perhaps heaped so much disgrace on a crown. We had therefore doubts in the assertion of that correspondent, a doubt which was justified by a later communication, that the monarchy was in great danger. The intelligence respecting the most important province of Catalonia is enveloped in entire darkness; we hear that this province is in a troubled state, but no body tells us what the meaning of these troubles is. In a private letter the word Republic has been mentioned in connexion with Communism; but we know very well that in the head of some monarchists these two ideas are inseparably connected, in spite of all historical proofs of their antagonism. It seems to us that the Spanish people in

general are heartily tired of monarchy and of constitutionalism, and that only the confidence, which they have in the personal liberalism and probity of Espartero can induce them to make once more a trial of constitutional monarchy, or at least with the form of it, for the Spanish people cannot and certainly will not wish that the present Queen should have any power, however small or constitutional, but that she shall be a mere name, given to the liberal government of Espartero. Thus, if monarchy is allowed to live further in Spain, it will be under conditions, which strip it even of the appearance of power. There is no doubt that even the higher classes, the generals and soldiers, are as little monarchical as the people; but they fear that the abolition of the name of Queen will be the commencement of that party-struggle which has brought Spain to the brink of destruction, and especially that it will open again that country to all the contending foreign influences which have always been the misfortune of the peninsula since Charles V.

There is, above all, the question what the French Emperor will say to the Spanish republic; and it is already whispered, that it will find no favour with him. Though Queen Isabella is by almost all parties considered as a necessary evil for the present, the dynastic question is not settled yet. The country waits with anxiety the assembly of the Cortes in November; and though it is reported that these Cortes are not assembled to discuss whether Queen Isabella or not, whether monarchy or not; this question will certainly be imposed upon them by the whole country. If there were no fear for embroilments with mighty foreign powers, nothing is so likely as that Spain would pull down a monarchy, under which she has suffered and has been degraded so much. But even with this fear, a Spanish republic is certainly far from being out of question.*

* An English newspaper regrets that Espartero has not hastened to dissolve the provincial Juntas, which, he says, are influenced by the "populace." Every one knows that these

The condition of the different countries and races which form the Ottoman Empire, has by the present war been so much brought to light, that we shall only point in another chapter to that question, which so much troubles the statesmen of Europe, as to what the condition of the Ottoman Empire, and we may add, of Greece, will be in future.

If we take one short general view of the state of the European continent, we shall observe that the combat between those two principles, which strive for the domination of the world—the principle of despotism and of self-government—is everywhere active; that this struggle of the new world against the old world appears almost everywhere as a struggle for national independence and for democracy. One striking difference the reviewer cannot fail to observe between the Germanic nations, especially Germany and the Romanic countries, in their social elements. The feudal aristocracy, and in connection with them the military power, are in Germany, and more or less in other Germanic countries, the strongest and most faithful supporters of despotism and everything which is in alliance with it; whilst in Italy and in Spain the nobility, and in the latter principally, the army have more than once taken up arms for liberalism, and have lent their powerful assistance to the defence of the popular rights. But the most active supporters of despotism on the continent are the clergy. The Catholic clergy, especially the higher, out of

Juntas have been of the greatest use to Spain by maintaining order and establishing a kind of authority in the hottest days of insurrection. Political life is not so centralized as in France; and Spain under the rule of these Juntas is like so many republics united under the authority of Espartero, whose rules are only based on confidence. The abolition of these provincial Juntas, which maintain at least order in the provinces and protect property, would be an act of utter folly on the part of Espartero, as he is not strong enough to replace them by an authority, which is as popular, and therefore as able to maintain order as the Juntas. That abolition would also certainly, before the fate of Spain is definitely settled by the Cortes, be connected with violence and endanger the position of the central government.

principle; the Protestant clergy, because they are dependent for their existence upon the governments. The middle and lower classes stand everywhere on the side of self-government. In the Catholic Romanic countries, where the education of the lower classes is less advanced, there is no decided leaning towards any one political form. They follow here more the influence, which a personality has understood how to gain over them, or desire a form of government, which promises them material improvement. In Germany, where the education of the lower classes, principally in the Protestant states, is higher than in any other country, except America, the working classes are thoroughly republican, and among the middle classes the constitutional party has been fast decreasing since 1848, and is at present almost distinct.

A deadly struggle of the two principles and their confessors is almost in all countries ready for an outbreak; a reconciliation is no longer possible. In Germany such a reconciliation would be considered as insincere and deceptive. The Germans, the Italians, the Hungarians, the Poles, wait but for the favourable moment to shake off their intolerable yoke. Will the present war bring this moment?

XI. DIPLOMACY, AND THE REVISION OF THE MAP OF EUROPE.

IN the feudal Europe of the Middle Ages the Emperor, or the kings, if they were about to wage a foreign war, called their vassals together, and discussed openly not only the assistance in men and money to be granted, but also the whole subject of the war. In one word, that which is called to-day foreign policy was almost a matter of public discussion. With the rising of absolutism, and with the introduction of the idea of a "cabinet" and "diplomacy," foreign policy ceased to be a public affair, it became "cabinet-policy," that is to say, the secret business of the prince and his confident councillors; and its execution was entrusted to the hands of diplomatists, especially when by means of standing armies the princes could dispense with the popular consent to the levy of war-taxes. When absolutism was obliged to yield to transient constitutional forms, the monarchs were extremely anxious to keep the foreign policy to themselves and their secret irresponsible councillors. The people fancied they had placed the transaction of public affairs, external as well as internal, in the hands of a responsible ministry, and there was, indeed, a responsible secretary of foreign affairs; but besides this minister, the constitutional monarchs kept their own private diplomatists, and conversed behind the back of the responsible secretary with any foreign power they liked. It often happened that on one and the same day two envoys started for St. Petersburg or Vienna, the one with instructions from the ministry, the other with secret instructions from the "cabinet," and that these instructions were of a contradictory character. Sometimes the people were so careless as to forget to change their ambassadors, or

they thought it sufficient that these ambassadors were under the control of a responsible ministry; in that case the ambassadors transacted two kinds of business, the one responsible for the government, the other irresponsible for the "cabinet." At other places the regular ambassador saw that he was counteracted by an invisible power. If ever the public light penetrate into the secret drawers of the "cabinet" containing the foreign transactions of the years 1848-50, and of the present war, the world will behold wonders of "diplomatic" skill. Perhaps there may be found in the drawers of the King of Prussia letters to his brother, the King of Denmark, informing him that he waged only a sham-war in Schleswig-Holstein; that he killed his own soldiers not to do injury to the Danish monarchy, or to defend any thing like that revolutionary idea, called the "Rights of the Duchies," but to prevent the army of the Duchies from doing harm to his dear brother of Danish majesty. There may be also found the promises of his brother-in-law, Nicholas, to be ready with a hundred thousand bashkirs and cossacks to pounce upon the Berliners, if they should dare to oppose the turning out of the representatives of the people. Perhaps the future historian may discover some documents which state, that the peace-loving king did not mobilize the army in November 1850, to make war on Austria, or to support that abominable thing, the Constitution of Hessen-Cassel; but that he did so only to appease the feelings of indignation in the Prussian army. But nothing would be more interesting than to hear the promises which Russia has held up to Austria, Prussia, and the smaller German states in the present struggle.

It has almost become a fixed idea, even in liberal statesmen, that foreign affairs cannot be conducted without the greatest secrecy, and that diplomacy is necessarily secret in its very character, so much so, that the government of a great and free country has often surprised the representatives of the people with a "fait accompli," and that it has answered to questions in

parliament about foreign transactions, that they could not communicate anything, "as matters were still going on." The people and their representatives have been constantly kept aloof from influencing foreign policy; the consequence is, that the foreign policy of this free government has been as despotic in its spirit as that of the Emperor of Russia; that it has been not only injurious to those principles of liberalism abroad, which it defended at home, but detrimental to the moral and material interest of the country itself.

We understand well, that governments of free countries are under an obligation to keep confidential propositions secret, out of courtesy, especially if they regard only other countries; but we contend, that this secrecy should cease if these propositions become actions, and if these actions touch the general interest of Europe and civilization. We contend further, that secret diplomacy will give way to public transactions, conducted by the people or their representatives as soon as the chief countries of Europe shall be free like England. We need not mention that the English people is already aroused to the consciousness that, if English foreign policy shall be just and worthy of the straightforwardness of the English character, the people must have an influence upon its transactions. It is all very well to talk about responsible ministers; but if the mischief is done, if any unjust foreign transaction is brought before the people as a "*fait accompli*," there is no cure without serious complications, and an injustice, which could have been prevented by a single word, can often not be mended without a bloody war. Publicity, considered as indispensable for the internal life of a free people, must and will also penetrate into the intercourse with foreign nations. If diplomatists laugh at this idea, they are right, supposing us to mean, that the intercourse of despotic governments could ever be publicly transacted. We know very well, that diplomacy here consists in nothing but cunning duplicity; the Russian diploma-

tists, who are considered as the cleverest in their profession, give sufficient proof of it.

The democratic idea of a "Tribunal of nations," or a "great European Parliament," before which all questions of international policy are decided by majority, will be the more practicable when the power of the nations is no longer abused for the dynastic interests of royal families, but when free peoples live in a friendly intercourse with each other, and know no other jealousy than which of them will be foremost in the arts of peace and civilization. Of course, such a true "Holy Alliance" of nations is only possible, if there is no longer an Emperor of Russia, who dares to defy the judgment which the undivided public voice of Europe has pronounced upon him. If the secret and intriguing policy of monarchs has already been able to maintain thirty years of peace amongst the leading powers of Europe, how much more would the open policy of a general European parliament be able to remove everything which could lead to that remnant of barbarous times—war! The principles of free trade too, will powerfully contribute to the reign of peace on earth, as they abolish the strongest reason, why one people should invade the territory of another.

The Popes, at the height of their power, considered themselves as the proprietors of the kingdoms of the earth.* When Hadrian IV., the only Englishman who was ever Pope, bestowed Ireland upon King Henry II., he said in his deed of gift, "All the islands are the exclusive property of St. Peter." When the power of Rome was broken, this holy monarchy became a profane aristocracy. A certain number of the most powerful princes of Europe inherited the power of the Pope to

* The celebrated Damianus, at the times of Pope Gregory VII., puts the following words into the mouth of the Saviour:—"Ego claves totius universalis ecclesiæ meæ tuis manibus tradidi et super eam te mihi vicarium posui quam proprii sanguinis effusione redemi. Et si pauca sunt ista, etiam monarchias addidi, etc."

dispose of the nations of the earth, as a landlord disposes of his landed property. The number of these great European Feudal lords is five to-day, the five great European Powers, the smaller princes are in reality but the vassals, who must submit to the territorial arrangements which the great Powers please to make, or have but a consultative voice. But no voice at all is allowed to the people; they must not only silently submit to any petty tyrant, who has been placed over them, but they are ordered to revere this prince as their legitimate monarch, "by the grace of God." Here are Greeks given into the care of a German petty prince, who understands neither their language nor their manners; there are Italian countries entrusted to Austrian rule, which they hate and despise. Difference of language, of manners, of religion, of character, is no consideration at all in the wise councils of this earthly Providence. "Balance of Power" is the only idea by which they are actuated. Like Montesquieu, who invented the three constitutional powers, legislation, administration, and jurisdiction, to form a check upon each other; so these five powers are to be equally strong, that each may be a powerful barrier against the aggression of any of the other: for, although three of them professed in the "Holy Alliance" "mutual affection" and to "consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation" as their "sole principle in force," yet the ideas which are at the bottom of the "balance of power," are jealousy, distrust, and fear.

When Napoleon was, by his own extravagance and the united strength of Europe, exiled to Elba, monarchy trembling assembled at Vienna to prevent the return of a catastrophe, from which it had just escaped, not without great pains. The map of Europe was revised. In this revision three great blunders were committed. Could the addition of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as it was called, give any additional strength to the Austrian Empire, which was already composed of too many different nationalities; or could the politicians of the

Vienna Congress for one moment fancy, that the Italians would forget their inveterate hatred towards Austrian rule, or that they would renounce their long cherished idea of a united Italy? On the north-east side a part of the divided kingdom of Poland was added to Austria. Thus, on her most exposed frontiers provinces were connected with her, which were always too glad to receive any enemy who would attack their rulers. Upper Italy ought at least to have been united under the Italian rule of Piedmont, which would have given more satisfaction to the Italians themselves, and raised a considerable barrier against attack from the side of France or Austria upon the independence of Italy. Austria can only be strengthened either by an acquisition of German territory, or of provinces without any distinct national antipathy against a foreign rule. The house of Bavaria would have been but justly rewarded for its anti-national conduct during the war, if Bavaria were added to Austria, and so Wurtemberg and Baden, or the kingdom of Saxony.

Another great blunder was made in the re-establishment of the Prussian kingdom. One glance at the map of Prussia shows, that the policy of the Hohenzollern must be aggrandizement. Stretched between Russia and France with an immense frontier, torn asunder in the middle, Prussia is, above all things, driven to the necessity of blending her two parts together into one. With a coast of several hundred miles, and a flourishing trade along the Baltic, Prussia must naturally strive to protect this trade by a navy;* one of the Great Powers, with an army of more than half a million, she is obliged to allow her coast to be blockaded by any of the small Baltic

* Frederick William, the great Elector of Brandenburg, formed the design of establishing a navy; he even acquired a colony on the west coast of Africa, which was called "Fridericia." After vast expenses the parsimonious Elector ceded the colony to the Dutch, and gave up his maritime ideas. If we are not much mistaken, this same colony is to-day the free Negro-Republic "Liberia." The plans of the great Elector have been taken up under the present king, especially by the exertions of Prince Adalbert. The recent acquisition of the port of "Jahde" in the German ocean, shows Prussia's desire to approach this sea.

maritime powers, as in 1848, by Denmark. No wonder that Austria and England have always to be on the watch against Prussian aggrandizement.

The third great blunder is to have neglected the opportunity of re-establishing Poland. The question was at that time less complicated than it is now. The duchy of Warsaw existed already as an independent state, and might have formed the basis of the re-establishment. Galicia, which Russia gave up to Austria could have been added; the tie which holds Austria to Russia, would thus have been broken. The English statesmen were especially under an obligation to destroy any close connection of the three northern Powers, as indeed such a connection was nothing less than a protection of Russia over Austria and Prussia. The re-establishment of Poland was the best means to break the bond which, by the division of Poland, Russia had laid around the neck of Austria and Prussia. But the English policy was influenced by other considerations; the independence of Hanover was for the English king a matter of greater importance than the independence of Poland. To-day the re-establishment of that country, which is so ardently demanded by all the Liberals as a matter of justice and policy, would be connected with many serious complications. Not only that Poland is now possessed by three powerful states, which would not feel inclined to give willingly up a portion of their territory*, but there are questions of still greater difficulty. It is perhaps not forgotten what embarrassments the Polish question caused to the German parliament at Frankfort in 1848. The Poles would of course demand the whole of the territory, which made up the kingdom of Poland before the first partition. Now a great part of the west has, under Prussian rule, been so Germanized, that at least in many towns the German population is not only more

* As Poland would re-demand at least the provinces Posen and West-Prussen, Ost-Prussen with Königsberg would be cut off from the main body of the State, and the monarchy of Prussia divided into three separated portions.

numerous, but more important; everything, which belongs to a higher civilization, being more or less in the hands of Germans. This is the case especially in West-Preussen, where for instance Danzig (Dantsick) has entirely lost its Polish character; and even in Posen, German civilization is beginning, entirely to subdue the Polish element. We fully agree with the author of the pamphlet "The Revision of the Map of Europe," that, "If it were possible to reconstitute the ancient Polish nationality, so great an act of reparation would make every generous heart beat with joy." "Turned against her mortal enemy, might not Poland be made to serve as a guarantee for the independence of Germany?" says that author, and many Germans have considered the question in the same light. But what would be the independence of a nation if it has not the guarantee in its own strength? The Prussians would certainly be glad to get rid of so disagreeable a neighbourhood as that of Russia; but if they expect independence from the reconstitution of Poland they are to be pitied. The solution is to be expected just in the opposite way. Poland can never be reconstituted and made independent without an independent Germany. Suppose Russia, Austria, and Prussia, were compelled by some necessity to re-establish Poland, would not this Poland, situated between these powers, be open to all kinds of intrigues and influences* before the condition of the country was settled, before the different political parties had agreed upon a form of government, and before the German element of the West had submitted to Polish rule. Greece, less dangerously situated than Poland, had sufficiently proved how difficult it is to raise a once

* These intrigues would now be the more efficient, as the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian governments have striven to bring the estates of the Polish nobility as much as possible into the hands of Russian or German noblemen, whom they have ever assisted with money for purchasing them. These landed-proprietors would, of course, be the best tools for the intrigues of the respective governments.

subjugated nation to independence. The author of the "Revision" seems to feel that difficulty. He therefore will give Poland to Prussia. But would Poland add a real strength to Prussia? * Perhaps the Poles would prefer the more humane rule of Prussia to that of Russia and Austria; but they would submit to this annexation only as to a preparation for their independence. The Polish possessions united under one rule would give so much the more trouble to that rule, as the exertions of the united Polish nationality would then not be divided by hermetically closed and carefully watched frontiers such as now exist between the different parts of Poland. This united struggle after entire independence would of course give to Russia the greatest field for her intrigues. Thus Poland would be for Prussia a much more dangerous wound than Lombardy is for Austria, as Prussia would scarcely find the means to keep in check a valorous nation, which is in number not inferior to her own. Poland annexed to Prussia would lay this country entirely at the feet of the Czar; for only with the assistance of the Czar would Prussia be able to uphold her rule over the united Polish nationality. Nay, Austria as well as Prussia can only be strengthened by the addition of German countries. Every one, whose heart beats for justice, must wish the revival of a country whose sons have by their valour and patriotism shown themselves so worthy of freedom; but if this revival is connected with so many and so

* The revision justifies the annexation of Poland to Prussia partly by "the relations of race, language, and religion, which exists between the Poles and the inhabitants of Posen and Silesia." This is a great mistake. As far as regards Posen, her inhabitants are not related to the Poles "in race, language and religion," but are Poles themselves in the full sense of the word, and only one small portion of Silesia, in Upper-Silesia, is Polish, and here scarcely more than the country people, whilst all the most flourishing parts, and all the greater towns are entirely German. Whilst the Western parts of the two government circles of Breslau and Leignitz are entirely German, in the villages of the eastern parts, only the names remind us here and there of their Slavonian founders.

great difficulties, now, much more than in the time of Napoleon I., is it impossible without a free and united Germany. Poland cannot be a guarantee for the independence of Germany; but Germany must be the guarantee for the independence of Poland. The German nation has in general no desire for conquest; it takes no pride in being the ruler over another nationality.

The Berliners opened the doors of the Polish prisoners, who had fought for their independence, the very day after the revolution, and carried Mieroslawsky and his companions in triumph through the streets; the Liberals in the Frankfort Parliament declared openly their sympathies for the Italian patriots in their struggles against the Austrian Government; and the heart of all Germany beat with the Hungarian heroes. Poland has no aggression, no intrigues to fear from the free German people; on the contrary as the hatred of the Germans in general towards Russia is not less strong than that of the Poles, she can be sure of every possible assistance in case of a war with Russia.

When the diplomatists of Europe assembled in the Congress of Vienna to revise the map of Europe, and to re-establish a balance of power, which should shelter the world from any future war, they were only animated by the fear of France. It was only from the West that they expected the rising of the storm; the East was entirely lost sight of. The truth is, that these diplomatists were, with the exception of the English lord Castlereagh, the representatives of despotic Governments, and that they dreaded less the armies of the West, than the ideas which marched in company with these armies. Nothing could be more favourable for Russia. In spite of her vast dominions which she had taken the opportunity to enlarge in the general confusion by the conquest of Finland and Bessarabia, the "balance of power" was not so interpreted, that she, already vast enough, should give back Finland to weak Sweden, or Bessarabia to decaying Turkey; but that she gained—besides the duchy of Warsaw. Lord Castlereagh was

flattered into consenting to almost everything, if only Hanover would not be given up to Prussia.

Nearly thirty-eight years were wanted to open the eyes of the leading statesmen towards the East, and to apprise them that the "balance of power," if ever such a thing exists, was less in danger from the "revolutionary" West, than from the "conservative" East. Was it not even the other day that a leading statesman could perceive no danger from Russia, in spite of the "disastrous" treaty of Adrianople, in spite of the Menschicoff mission, in spite of the invasion of the Principalities and Sir Hamilton Seymour's despatches? It was in the year 1853 that European statesmen, with the exception of one, began to perceive that the "power" was out of "balance," or that one power has been allowed to out-balance the others; and we fear that the "establishment of effective guarantees for the future" will demand not only the "revision" of "treaties," and a few other things of no great consequence, but a revision of the map of Europe altogether. In the struggle of Turkey and the Western powers the "status quo ante bellum" seems to be out of the question; on the contrary, the Western politicians do not conceal their pleasure in having found an opportunity for correcting one of the blunders of the Vienna Congress. "The aggressions of Russia" must be checked for ever; "Russia must be crippled," or driven back to Asia; such are the cries which are uttered by the same people who, a few months ago, called the Emperor Nicholas the great guardian of peace and order. But how are the aggressions of Russia to be efficiently checked for ever; how are limits to be set "to the pernicious ascendancy which Russia has too long exercised beyond the boundaries of her own empire?" That is a question, of which the answer will be more difficult than some politicians imagine, and will contain more radical measures than "the revision of the treaties, the freedom of the Danube, the destruction of the extensive domination of Russia in the Euxine, and the independence of the

Circassian coast." The destruction of the exclusive domination of Russia in the Euxine, for instance, would be a great check to the Russian schemes in the South ; but is this destruction to be accomplished simply by opening the Euxine to the navies of all nations, or will it not be necessary to wrest the Crimea from Russia and give it to Turkey, or to somebody else ? What means the independence of the Circassian coast ? If this coast is independent, if the fortresses on this coast are either destroyed, or in the hands of the Circassians, Russia has lost her chief " point d'appui " in her struggle against this gallant people, and the consequence would soon be the independence of all the Circassian tribes ; or in other words, Georgia or the " government of Tiflis " would be cut off from the main body of the Russian empire, as there would be no access to it, neither by sea nor by land. But even if the treaties are revived in favour of Turkey, if the Danube is freed from Russian quarantines and obstructions, if the Crimea is wrested from the Russian sceptre, the Circassians independent, and Georgia given back to the Turks or to Persia, of course a considerable stop would be put to the aggression of the Czars in this quarter of the globe ; but Russia would still be the neighbour of Turkey on the Pruth, and the mouth of the Danube, and Russian intrigues would still go on amongst the Greeks and Slavonians of the Ottoman empire, and the chief cause of Russian influence would not be removed. Stopped or diminished here in the South for some time, the energies of the Czars will then be the more ardently directed towards the West and the North, to regain in the Baltic, in Posen, Galicia and Hungary, what they have lost in the Euxine, in Circassia and in the Principalities. We now come to the main point of our argument. *The aggressive policy of Russia can only be efficiently stopped by a strong united and free Germany. Germany's weakness is Russia's strength.* The important influence which Germany exercises over the fate of Europe has, perhaps, never been clearer to the eyes of

politicians than at present. When France and England were united, when they sent tremendous fleets to the Baltic and Black Sea, when they despatched powerful armies to the East, the statesmen looked still at Austria and Prussia, well aware that the decision must come from that quarter.

"The German Powers have the peace of Europe so entirely in their hands, that the attention of all is turned to them," writes the *Times* Correspondent from Paris; and the leading papers of England and France daily almost fill their columns with the question, What are Austria and Prussia going to do in the present contest? Germany, with forty millions of people, intelligent, industrious, and brave, is the natural guardian of civilization against the barbarous East. Wrest from Russia the Crimea, Circassia, Finland; destroy Cronstadt and Sweaborg, but allow her influence over the rulers of Germany, and she will soon regain what she may have lost, and thirty years will see her as formidable and as aggressive as before.

XII. THE WAR AND ITS PROSPECTS.

It was the declared policy of the European governments since 1815, to maintain the "status quo" of Europe, fixed by the Congress of Vienna. Into these engagements England entered as well as the Holy Alliance, but we said that the intention of the latter was of another kind, an intention in which England did not participate, although she did nothing to prevent its execution. Every one knows how that "status quo" is maintained. Greece, Belgium, and Cracow, are the living testimonies that the alliance of all the powers of Europe, did not save the territorial arrangements from that change to which everything in the world is subjected. But these changes did not seriously affect the general feature of Europe. When the storms of 1848 and 1849, threatened to cause an essential alteration in the state of Europe, the English government thought it its chief duty not to listen to the complaining voice of oppressed and deceived nations, but to sacrifice everything to the vague idea of the "European equilibrium." The Hungarians, the Italians, the Schleswig-Holsteiners could not be astonished that they did not find a willing ear for their just complaints in London. The English government thought the integrity of the Austrian empire and of the Danish monarchy indispensable for the "balance of power" in Europe. We have seen how English statesmen understood this equilibrium and balance of power. They could not allow that a portion of the Austrian empire should be torn off; but they could allow that the whole of the Austrian empire should be laid at the feet of the Czar. They could not allow this equilibrium to be shaken by permitting the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to be independent of the Danish crown; but they could allow that the whole Danish monarchy, at no very future time,

should fall into the hands of the Czar. It would have shaken the balance of power in Europe, if the Germans had succeeded in uniting their strength into one independent and powerful empire as a wall against Russia's barbarous influence; but it does not shake this European balance,—that all the German princes become puppets in the hand of the Czar, and that Germany becomes thus the chief tool for Russian schemes in Europe. A strange notion this equilibrium and balance of power in the nineteenth century! We could understand its meaning at the time when the House of Austria threatened to unite the greater part of Europe under her sway; we could understand its meaning when opposed to the ambition of Louis XIV., or the conquests of Napoleon; but we cannot understand its meaning when directed against the freedom of Hungary and Italy, against the unity of Germany, and the independence of the Duchies.

The idea of "balance of power" has become traditional, and like everything traditional must either be changed and applied to the spirit of the age, or if that is impossible, be abolished altogether. This idea wants at least a thorough revision, for no longer are tracks of cultivated or uncultivated lands the leading powers of the present world.

The present war, if it has not done so already, will convince statesmen that the idea of maintaining the "status quo," for which they went to war is obsolete, and has no application to the present time and condition of Europe. The organs of the governments of the West have already told us, that if this war has been first undertaken to maintain Turkey, or the "status quo," these governments have at length found out that this will lead to no purpose, and that the war cannot end, till it has altered that very "status quo," for the maintenance of which it was undertaken. Thus Europe sees that that notion of balance of power, held up by the governments, and by the English government especially, as their leading doctrine, was wrong; and it is only to be lamented for the sake of the Italians, Hungarians, Poles,

and Germans, that they did not find this out six years ago,—much blood, much money, much trouble, would have been saved to England and the whole of Europe. All the nations of the continent knew, and knew it with certainty, before Prince Menschikoff's mission, what a great many statesmen did not seem to know, that there had been no such thing as balance of power ever since 1815; that, on the contrary, not only Russia was Russian, but almost all the governments of the continent were so. The revolutions since 1815, are but attempts to rid Europe of the pernicious influence of this Colossus, the iron hand of which distant Spain felt as well as neighbouring Germany. For what the statesmen of England and France neglected to do, the people tried to take into their own hands. When in 1848, the people had the command in Berlin, war with Russia was their chief desire. However imprudent and impolitic such a demand may have been under those circumstances, the instinct of the people pointed the right way, it directed the attention to the real source.

Since the idea of "balance of power" became a creed of European statesmen, history has beheld a series of alliances against any royal family which threatened to be dangerous to the European equilibrium. An alliance against the house of Austria, an alliance against Louis XIV. and Napoleon. The question was then merely dynastic, the alliances counteracted an increase of territory under the sway of their antagonist. He who in studying the history of Europe, comes to the nineteenth century, would after the downfall of Napoleon I., naturally expect an alliance against Russia, as the aggressive spirit of so vast a power surpassed already by far the dangers with which the European states were threatened by a Charles V. or Louis XIV. But no! No alliance against Russia is to be found in the annals of history until the year 1853. Russia was up to this time allowed to aggress in every direction, on all her neighbours—European statesmen were quiet—they had

no fear of Russia. Danger for Europe they feared but from France.

The Europe of the nineteenth century was no longer the Europe of Richelieu or Fleury. Dynastic questions once so powerful, had become of secondary importance ; it is now principles which make the thrones tremble ; it is liberalism against which all alliances are directed.

We have traced a short history of this liberalism. Commencing with the importance of the towns, their middle classes and their industry, nursed and protected on the continent by despotism itself, rendered conscious of its principles and its nature by the literature of the eighteenth century, by the American independence and the French revolution, liberalism swelled on from year to year to a mighty stream, which threatened to overthrow all thrones and all remnants of a by-gone world.

Against this stream it is that despots formed the "Holy Alliance," and English aristocrats lend their powerful assistance to tyranny. Dynastic jealousies no longer disturbed the friendship of the allied monarchs, they all had one common foe to encounter and to fear.

There is only one power, which thanks to the barbarity of its subjects, is considered as free from fear, and forms thus the stronghold of those who tremble for liberalism.

It is but natural that that power should take advantage of its position, that it should base its aggression upon the fear of Europe.

Germany had ceased to be independent, her will was directed from St. Petersburg.

France during the restoration and in the time of Louis Philippe was under the tutelage of Russia and England, like a child that has been naughty, and had to be kept under strict surveillance.

England, though liberal in her internal government, was allied by the traditional policy of her aristocracy to Russia, whilst her people thought but of getting wealth by commerce and industry.

The other nations had no voice in the European council. Russia thought the time was come when she could venture upon an important step further in her schemes. But she deceived herself. Had she to deal only with statesmen, perhaps, she might have succeeded. The Petersburg autocrat overlooked the fact, that there was a people in Europe, that these people watched closely his proceedings, that they denounced his aggression, and that in England and France they pressed on the government to allow no longer these shameful attacks on the rights of Turkey, and the honour of the four powers. We know the indulgence was great, the resistance slow. But public opinion about foreign affairs had become enlightened and powerful in England, within these last years, and Louis Napoleon in France had to strengthen a self-erected throne and to create a popularity.

At last the nineteenth century beholds an alliance against Russia,—the first general alliance which is formed against that power. England is detached from a friendship which was so fatal to the liberty of Europe,—she has at last taken her proper place as enemy of despotism and Russia. France has regained her international independence,—she appears once more as the champion of humanity and the foe of Moscow.

England and France have undertaken the war to repel the shameful attack upon the Turkish empire, as they considered this attack to be but a forerunner of the conquest of Constantinople. However great their friendly relations to the government of Russia were, neither England nor France could allow the violation of the first paragraph of their political creed—the “integrity of the Ottoman empire.”

When once driven to resistance and hostility against an old friend, the Western Powers went a step further. The commercial world, disturbed in its peaceful transactions, demanded guarantees that that disturbance should not occur so easily again. By and bye, the belligerent powers found out that they had formerly been too indulgent to the aggressor, and that now was the

opportunity of mending the blunders their diplomats had committed. What these guarantees are, is known—even Austria has acknowledged their necessity.

The object of the war now, after the attack is repulsed, is to bring Russia to such a condition, that she shall give over all thoughts of getting at Constantinople, and applying the last kick to the “*homme malade*.” The war, from the moment that the Principalities are evacuated, and, perhaps, an indemnification for the aggression is wanted, becomes a condemnation of the former policy of England and France, it becomes an acknowledgment either of their former short-sightedness or indulgence. The object of the war is now to take back what formerly was conceded, to destroy what formerly was allowed to exist. The government of France has an excuse, Louis Napoleon is not answerable for that which Charles X. and Louis Philippe had failed in ; but how with England ? are not here the very same men compelled to condemn in 1854, what they have done in 1828 or 1841 ?

So far the intention of the governments of England and France with this war. But there is another power in the world of the nineteenth century,—a power if not always able to direct the actions of their governments, sometimes at least strong enough to defy them. A historian and politician of the century of Richelieu had easier work, he had but to sound the ideas and intention of the monarchs, and their ministers and mistresses ; a politician of the nineteenth century knows, that there is another power without the circles of the court, that there is a people—that these people have an opinion of the matter, and that whether the government be constitutional or absolute, this opinion can no longer be left out in political calculations.

Why were the governments of England and France so slow in commencing a war so just, so important for the independence of Europe ? Why is the government of Austria so undecided—and why is Prussia still so vacillating ? Because they know that there is a people in

their countries, a people which have, or may have other purposes with a war against Russia, and that there may come a time in which they can no longer master the opinion and the will of that people.

At the commencement of this war we heard on all sides the "words disturbance of the peace of Europe." Do these words only apply to the war waged on the remote banks of the Danube, or in the sixty-fifth degree in the Baltic? Does it not rather mean that at least the whole continent is one large heap of combustibles, that there is only one spark wanting to cause a general conflagration, and that any war would be such a spark, but above all a war against Russia?

When the nations of the continent were once more reduced to thralldom after the failure of the revolutions of 1848—1849, they did not give up the hope of gaining at last those ends they have so long struggled for. They looked to France—there must come a crisis. The crisis came—they were deceived. Revolutions will never do, thought the more sober, unless they are assisted by an actual war, a war of two or more governments with all their disciplined and drilled armies and their resources. Such a war will sooner or later become a war of political principles, a war of freedom against despotism. The battle which governments commence, will be in our times decided by the nations. With such thoughts the people of the continent looked at the battles on the banks of the Danube, and look still towards that which is to come in the Black Sea and the Baltic?

The nations of the continent do not deceive themselves; they are well aware that neither the English nor the French governments are at present inclined to ally themselves with revolutionary elements, or to lead revolutionary arms into the battle; but they know that he who sets the house on fire, is not able to command the directions of the flames, nor to prevent the destruction of the whole town. The people of Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland, know very well that France and Eng-

land have pledged themselves to Austria and Prussia, not to allow that any revolutionary element should meddle with the war, that the Western powers only purchased the co-operation of the former by this pledge,—that especially the French Emperor undertook to keep down any movement in Italy. So far freedom on the continent seems to have no hope. But the war since the evacuation of the Principalities has entered a new phase, and how many more phases may there be? The people on the continent are convinced that the power of Russia stands and falls with despotism, and that whoever undertakes now to destroy Russian influence in Europe, must be prepared to destroy despotism, that is to say, he must be prepared to aid the revolution.

And does not the conservative press of England, even that important journal, which is considered to be the organ of the government speak against monarchs in a language, which uttered from the mouth of a continental democrat, would be considered extravagant and red republican! Did not this same journal the other day complain that the people of Prussia have given no sign of the disapproval of their king's policy? And how could the people of Prussia, whose press is gagged, whose public meetings are hunted by policemen and gendarmes give a disapproval otherwise than by a revolutionary movement? Does not this same journal almost daily ask, why the German nation does not rid themselves of those petty princes who are nothing but tools of Russia? Ah, what a justification at least the German democrat receives almost daily out of the mouth of these conservative organs! Now, let but Prussia, and in her suite, the minor states of Germany, openly join Russia an event to which the king will very likely be driven by the Kreuz-Zeitung party, after the evacuation of the Principalities, let then a revolution break out in the Rhenish provinces or in the commercial towns of the Baltic, what will be the attitude of France and England? Will they still continue

to aid a king who is against them, against a people who are with them. And certainly the people of Prussia who are utterly disgusted with the Russian set at Berlin and Sanssouci, want but the slightest hint, that they may find assistance, or at least that any assistance brought from another quarter will not be prevented. Prussia up, the Rhenish provinces in a blaze,—what will become of Hessen Cassel with her Elector and M. Von Hassenpflug,—what of Saxony with her bigotted despot and the Russian Von Beust,—what of Mecklenburg, etc.? Will the people of these states neglect the opportunity of speaking a word to their rulers about their broken oaths, violated royal promises, about all their persecutions, their insolence, and their sympathies for the “knout?” And when the whole of Germany is in flames, what is Austria going to do? She will be obliged to give up all co-operation against Russia. A revolution on the Rhine and at Berlin will be a revolution of the Poles in Posen. Will England and France then withdraw their force from Turkey, and in community with the Emperor Nicholas, keep down the Germans, re-instate their Russian rulers, and give Germany back to a Russian protectorate, which must needs be far stronger and far closer.—The king of Prussia has the fate of Europe in his hands. If he listen to a criminal sympathy for relationship, if he lend his ear to the promise of getting Hanover, and so to approach the German Ocean, if he follow the principles of his inclination, he will alter the fate of Europe, and Prussia will be no longer a monarchy. The question is, whether he will take this step?

Frederick William IV. is the first Prussian monarch who has added hitherto no territory to his monarchy except the little principalities of Hohenzollern; on the contrary, he has lost Neufchatel. We mentioned that the policy of the Hohenzollern was aggrandizement, and must be so still. Almost every monarch, but especially since the Great Elector, has enlarged his dominions by one bit of territory or other. Prussia is still torn into two pieces; her

long coast is still at the mercy of Denmark or Sweden. It is no wonder that the policy of the Prussian Court is widely different from that of Austria. Austria is essentially a conservative power; Prussia is aggressive.

In the present war Austria is anxious not to be surrounded by a vast power, related by blood to many millions of her subjects; Prussia, with her essentially German population, has not this fear, she shrinks of acquisition and conquests in the midst of the general confusion. The newly-acquired port of "Jahde," on the German ocean, shows the direction. By the acquisition of Hanover, Prussia would blend her two parts together, would get a coast on the German ocean, and the King of Hanover, be it remembered, is an English prince. With his sympathies for absolute government, his love for his sister, the Empress of Russia, with prospects of getting Hanover, and the immense advantage it would bring to his dominions, and the natural aim of not falling short of his predecessors in aggrandizing Prussia, add to this the power, which the "Kreuz-Zeitung" party exercises over him, what is the King of Prussia likely to do as soon as his conscience is relieved by the evacuation of the Principalities? One consideration alone could neutralize all these intentions—the fear of his people. That is the great acquisition of our time, that the people, and always the people, come to give their vote for the fate of the countries.

Fredrick Wilhelm knows well, that siding with Russia would arouse all the revolutionary feelings of his people, feelings which are but forcibly kept down since 1848. But another question exists for him, whether these people will rise before they see any assistance by a foreign power, or whether in the case of their rising he will be able to oppress them? We mentioned, that he can be almost sure of the faithfulness of the standing armies; and as the people are not organized and prepared as he is, he will be able to keep down any rising in the capitals, if he is not obliged to send assistance to the smaller states. The "Bund," this old German

police-office, and more, the recent alliance with the minor German states, procures him the active co-operation of the whole military power of Germany in keeping down any attempt at a revolution. Two points are most important. Should he openly go with Russia, the Baltic coast will be exposed to the allied fleets, and the Rhenish provinces to the French armies, which are already encamped in a threatening neighbourhood to the frontiers. If the people of Prussia remain quiet, the French will have hard work with the fortresses on the Rhine, and the chances here are at least on the side of Prussia; the Baltic towns are, of course, open to a bombardment; but any landing of troops would scarcely be possible. But things are entirely different as soon as France and England appeal to the revolutionary spirit of the nation. An attack of France in the Rhenish provinces and of the allied fleets in connexion with a rising of the people, would not only cost Friedrich Wilhelm IV. his crown, but be the last day of monarchy in Germany. This the King well knows, and this is the reason why he is compelled to keep up as long as he can a "neutrality." But if he should be driven to declare himself, he certainly will not fight against Russia.

It is impossible to foresee all the chances which the war might create in its course; but nothing is so likely as that Prussia, or Northern Germany in general, will be that point, which will give a new direction to the present crisis, and where the sun of freedom will rise on the continent. The present King of Prussia seems to be born to bring about in his country that crisis, which the Liberals of Europe so anxiously expect.

A rising of Italy is hopeless as long as Austria sides with France and England; and Hungary is kept down by the numberless armies which are collected in her provinces.

We pointed in different places at the important influence which Germany exercises on the fate of Europe, an influence which is now no longer denied by any party. Neither Poland, nor Hungary, but Germany is

the natural guardian of civilization against the aggressive barbarism of the East. But the history of civilization has come to that period when civilization and freedom can no longer be separated. Whoever may be the guardian of civilization, must also be the guardian of freedom; nay, more, he must have developed this freedom to a form which is the purest possible in the present age. This doctrine gives us the reason why a constitutional monarchy is impossible by the side of a powerful despotism. The constitutional monarchy is but a compact, a truce between despotism and self-government; and however well it may work, where the social element demands such a compact, it is never sincere where the one or the other side is supported by a powerful neighbour of its own creed. A constitutional monarchy at the side of a powerful republic is but a masked republic; and a constitutional monarchy at the side of a powerful despotic state is but a masked despotism. The doctrine of non-intervention has always been a political hypocrisy. The states of the modern world are too closely connected by manifold ties; they are too often brought into contact to admit of their being indifferent about the affairs of a neighbour. The "Holy Alliance" on the one side, and the United States on the other, show that opposite political principles cannot live together without making "propaganda" in the dominion of their neighbours.

Germany is, by her situation as well as by the course of her social and political history, destined to be a republic, a democratic republic, and to form as such not only an impregnable wall against Asiatic despotism; but to spread, at least by peaceable means, the seeds of civilization and self-government in the East.

Monarchy, on the continent, knows very well that its hours are numbered; and it suspects, not without reason, that the present war will sound its knell. The Divine right of Monarchy, preached so anxiously by the clergy on the continent, a clergy paid and promoted by kings, has long ago ceased to be the creed of the people.

Monarchy itself has almost in every continental country broken its spell by the profligacy, folly, or baseness of its representatives, or their counsellors; the world has beheld kings on the scaffold; it has seen them with pale faces and trembling limbs before the people in arms, or more, disgraced and forsaken flying from a soil where they found but contempt or pity. The world has almost seen a Queen tried before the tribunals of the people for forgery, embezzlement, and robbery. Who will venture to speak any longer of the Divine right of monarchs in the face of such facts?

Where monarchy is preserved, it is with the expectation that it may work some good; *its usefulness* is questioned, not *its right*. In many countries the monarchs are but a necessary evil. Shall not a nation have its own judgment, whether under altered circumstances this evil is still necessary?

When a nation sees that its most sacred rights, national honour and national independence, are betrayed by monarchy to a chieftain of barbarians, shall it not have the right, is it not its first duty, to turn out this enemy of what is most sacred? And who will deny that the Germans are this nation?

We pointed out, that the success of a revolution in Germany has two principal enemies, Russia, and the confusion and uncertainty which must naturally exist before an authority is established.

If the King of Prussia sides openly with Russia in the present contest, and a revolution at least not discountenanced by the Western powers breaks out, this revolution would have every hope of success. The power and influence of Russia are paralyzed by the war. The confusion and uncertainty of the political condition of the country can and will to a great extent be avoided, because all democrats, we can say almost all Liberals of Germany, acknowledge the "Constitution of the German Empire, given by the Frankfort Parliament on the 28th of March 1849, as *"de jure"* existing; and this Constitution would, with the excep-

tion of those paragraphs which refer to an emperor, form the fundamental law of the united republics of Germany. The same danger would be avoided within the particular states which form the unity. Everywhere there is a constitution of 1848 and 1849 in existence, which after slight alterations would save the country that troublesome state of uncertainty which naturally prevails, when a constituent assembly discusses with more or less excitement the fundamental law of the country.

We are well aware that neither the government of France nor that of England will look with favour upon the establishment of republics in Germany; but will not circumstances drive them to yield to things which are not agreeable to them, especially if they are really in earnest in the war against Russia? And will not public opinion in both countries, now so attentive and so strong about foreign affairs, have an irresistible influence on the policy of the Governments? The consequences which the establishment of a German republic would have for Poland, for Hungary, for Italy, are immense. We will abstain from indulging in following out the hopes which Liberalism forms from such an event.

There are other chances. It is undeniable that Louis Napoleon is the most important personage in the present drama of the world. The Emperor Nicholas may die suddenly without effecting any considerable change in the situation of Europe. What he does and what he has done is but the fulfilment of a policy, traditional not only in his family, but almost in all classes of the empire itself. What he has commenced therefore, his successor will continue. It is a mistake to ascribe the present war to the pride and despotic humour of the person of the Emperor,—it is the pride and the aggressive humour of the whole nation, of every real Russian, that has aggressed upon Turkey.

But how is it with the Emperor of the French? It is certain, that Louis Napoleon, as far as he fights against the Russian legions for the deliverance of Europe

from the Russian influence, acts entirely with the universal applause of the French nation. Any democratic government would have done and will do the same; but besides this, Louis Napoleon has pledged himself to England, and particularly to Austria, to keep as much as possible any revolutionary element out of the present struggle. There is no doubt, that this pledge is not in concord with the spirit and the desire of the French nation, which generally boasts of having a particular mission from Providence, to be the shield and the protector of oppressed nations, the great teacher and defender of liberalism. Let us think for one moment what emergencies may arise, should Louis Napoleon in the midst of the present war suddenly leave the stage of history—we will not think of daggers and infernal machines,—a fall from his horse, an overthrowing of the carriage, what an immense effect it would bring about in the aspects of Europe! We like to boast of the civilization of our country; but what a miserable condition is it, that the life, the happiness, the prosperity of millions of men depend still upon the changeable will or the mortal body of one individual? Is this system really better than the state of an Asiatic despotism, or the condition of a Russian serf? When will the peace and happiness of the world be established on a firmer basis than the frail frame of one human body!—The king of Prussia is after all not so destitute of reason. He may have confidence in the intentions of Louis Buonaparte; but this confidence relies but on the fragility of one human body, whilst his confidence in Russia is a confidence in a system of a hundred years old, and supported by a nation of sixty millions.

The mission of Russia is clear to us. This barbarous empire is called by Providence to assist by its antagonism in the birth and development of democracy in Europe. Every new principle wants an antagonist, an enemy, in the struggle with whom it strengthens its power and purifies its doctrine. The stronger the enemy, the more rapid the development of its character, the

earlier its accession to the dominion of the world. When history beheld in the West the first attempt to make the doctrine of the dignity of man, self-government, and democracy, a reality,—it saw in the East the rising of an empire which was destined to be the greatest foe of this doctrine and its most powerful lever. Rome rose by the wars with Carthage; without a Carthage, Rome would not have been the Empress of the world.

The “historical” mission of Louis Napoleon is less clear; but whatever may be his intentions, he must assist in bringing to power the great doctrine of the future—democracy.

The situation of England has by the present war undergone a happy change. Enjoying a happy individual liberty within, England was always to be found a faithful ally of Russia; and if she did not join actually the “Holy Alliance,” she pledged herself to the policy of the continental despotism in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. But when we say England, we should say the aristocratic government of England—for however dependent this government may have been in its internal policy upon the public opinion of the country, in foreign matters it ruled entirely according to traditional party-principles, or was actuated by an aristocratic hatred towards France. The people of England in general took no interest in the fate of continental Europe; its history and even its geography was a sealed book for them. The great merchants of London, Manchester, or Birmingham, looked upon the continent as they looked upon Australia or the country of the Caffers. Europe had interest for them only as far as it furnished a soil for their commercial operations. No wonder that there was no sympathy on the continent for England. The present war has brought the people of England nearer to the people of the continent. They feel that they have a common interest to defend, a common foe to encounter. As at length the attention of the English people is directed towards that which is going on on the continent; it is no longer the govern-

ment alone or political party considerations, which will direct the foreign policy, but a public opinion, which enlightened by a free press, will oblige the government to throw the voice and the will of the English people into the scale of continental history. It is this popular influence which has raised England in the eyes of the people of the continent to that esteem, which the governments of former days were never able to gain. For the first time since the French Revolution, England is detached from the Russian friendship,—she has lost her fear and jealousy of France, and has decided to represent those principles of justice and freedom on the continent, which govern in her own dominions.

The enthusiasm with which this happy change is hailed by the people of Europe, is the stronger and the more sincere, as it is not lavished on an individual that can die to-morrow, but on a great and powerful people, which once rightly instructed about the situation of Europe, will never relapse into that state of indifference which was so obnoxious to the development of liberalism. That is the great blessing of true liberty, that a great principle can indeed be born with an individual but never die with him; that once brought into existence it becomes all-powerful and invincible. Great Britain will henceforth be the champion and guardian of liberalism, as it long has been the asylum of its defenders. And should Great Britain not understand her mission, or not have courage enough to act up to it, America will come over and plead the cause of freedom, as soon as those millions of European refugees and emigrants have made their voice heard in the councils of Washington.

But is a revolution necessary on the continent? Can not the people obtain those liberties which their state of civilization demands, by a quiet and steady progress on the road of liberalism?

Sincere friends of freedom in England think that those first attempts at a constitutional monarchy ought to be developed, and that if the people be but patient

and the monarchs but sincere, such a development must lead to such a result as we see in England, a happy alliance of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Alas, the people have been but too patient, but the monarchs never sincere! Study the history of Germany since the commencement of this century, and where can you find a stronger example of patience? Look at the people of Prussia, which waited patiently thirty-three years for the final execution of the law of the 22nd May, 1815! Constitutional monarchy is a reconciliation of two principles—of the divine right of royalty and of self-government. A reconciliation of these principles is no longer possible on the continent. The monarchy has lost all confidence in the people, and the people have lost all confidence in monarchy. The monarchs know that once become constitutional, they must part with their doctrine of the divine right, they are in the eyes of the people but a question of usefulness, and the door to liberalism once opened, they are no longer the masters of its progress. The people know that the monarchs on the continent have never been sincere, and will never be sincere; that more than one king has declared he cannot understand what constitutional means,—that the monarchs use the constitutions as a transition to their old despotism, just as they themselves use it as a transition to democracy. Do we not see in the present affairs of Spain, the most loyal country hitherto in Europe, this utter want of confidence in monarchy, in spite of the exertions and assurances of Espartero? And then constitutional monarchies with a neighbour like Russia, and without a real aristocracy!

And do the English people think, that with the destruction of Sebastopol, the hold Russia has got over the governments of Europe will be destroyed? There is a stronger bond which ties the monarchs of the continent to Russia,—the creed of the divine right of monarchy, the hatred of constitutionalism.

Alas, it is a sad conviction, that sometimes storms

are necessary to clean the atmosphere from pestilential influences. And what great principle has ever been brought to power in the affairs of mankind by the gentle weapons of persuasion and mutual indulgence? The great spirit of history has ever marched over battle-fields and scaffolds!

When mankind was lost in barbarism, the divine reason which governs the world, was represented by priests and despots. When the dignity of man dawned on earth, priests and despots were compelled to share their power with aristocrats, the theocratical despotism became an aristocracy.

Reformations, revolutions, and the great spirit of modern materialism have wrested the monopoly of the divine reason from priests, despots, and aristocrats,—they have given it as a common property to all men. Aristocracy became democracy. Civilization and humanity born in the East under despotism and theocracy, obtained its manhood in the West under democracy; but here like a beautiful flower it sends its refreshing odour in all directions,—it grows to a powerful tree which overshadows the whole earth.

The present war was commenced by governments, it will be decided by peoples; it was declared in the name of nationalities, it will be waged and ended in the name of principles. The fear that Russia may be victorious has rapidly disappeared in consequence of her defeats; but Russia can be conquered not by the destruction of Sebastopol or Kronstadt, but by the destruction of despotism on the continent. Will Russia be conquered—will despotism be destroyed? This war will answer the question,—this war with all its battles, contingencies, and phases. We have faith in Providence, in the progress of civilization and humanity.

There are two powers in our modern world which guarantee that civilization will not leave us, as it has left its birth-place, that it will no longer wander towards the West, that its future will be to embrace the whole world, all nations of the earth, that Asia as well as

Africa shall enter her prosperous dominions. These two powers, mechanical in their nature are, notwithstanding, the strongest levers of the intellectual man, the greatest promoters of his material well-being and his moral happiness—STEAM AND THE PRESS. Armed with these weapons the goddess of Civilization will no longer die, will no longer abide in the West only, but will spread her thoughts of humanity, her principles of love over the whole face of the earth,—will embrace all mankind.

Our age is sometimes called the mechanical age, the age of materialism; but we may thank our researches into the mysteries of the material forces, our acquaintance with the great spirit of nature, that despotism, war, barbarity, ignorance, injustice, poverty, will at length disappear before the Sun of civilization and humanity.

THE END.

1B 21551

4912

D 363

R4

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

